

JPRS-EER-86-080

30 MAY 1986

East Europe Report

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30 MAY 1986

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BUDGET DIRECTOR DISCUSSES 1986 FEDERAL BUDGET

Prague *FINANCE A UVER* in Czech No 1, 1986, pp 9-18

[Article by Eng Belo Bosak, candidate for doctor of science, director of the federal budget division of the Federal Ministry of Finance: "The 1986 Federal Budget; The Start of the Eighth 5-Year Plan"]

[Text] The financial development strategy for 1986 is based on the need to further intensify economic development, and in particular to increase the rate of formation of material and financial resources. An increase in this rate will involve primarily increasing the valuation of raw materials and components, utilizing capital assets more effectively, and increasing the contributions made by R&D efforts. Such growth is a fundamental precondition for further progress in bringing our foreign economic relations back into balance, for the maintenance and further improvement of our standard of living, for the implementation of needed structural changes in our capital stock and production processes. It is, furthermore, a precondition for the implementation of extensive integrational projects which are important for the future development of our economy.

Increasing the rate financial resources formation and ongoing pressure to improve managerial efficiency are the critical conditions for achieving balance in our financial and budgetary relations.

Implementing the tasks of the final year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan contributed to the overall fulfillment of the objectives of economic and social policy as outlined for this period by the 16th CPCZ Congress, and at the same time created a favorable base for the start of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

The basic tasks for 1985 included the achievement of an increased rate of material resource formation by more completely introducing efficiency enhancing measures, an increase in the efficiency of public production, and the more effective utilization of all developmental resources. On the whole it is projected that national income formation will increase by more than 10 percent over 1980, meaning that the target for the Seventh 5-Year Plan will have been overfulfilled by one percentage point.

Despite serious difficulties caused by unfavorable conditions at the start of the year, production targets in the principal national economic sectors

were fulfilled. Increased material resource formation made it possible to achieve substantial progress in bringing foreign economic relationship into balance, to solve several problems in the investment area and to facilitate an increase in personal and public consumption.

The primary developmental problem in 1985 was, however, the failure to fulfill tasks in the area of effectiveness. The difficulty of these tasks became even more evident with the production shortfalls at the beginning of the year, the consequences of which for the fulfillment levels of qualitative indicators were never fully overcome. Production costs declined more slowly than had been planned, as did wages as a percentage of total costs, nor did the increase in labor productivity fully meet either our needs or its own potential.

There are significant differences in task fulfillment between individual firms, economic production units [VHJ] and sectors; it is therefore necessary to relate the problem of increased efficiency to the differing levels of preparedness of organizations for the more rigorous economic conditions of the current state in development, and to judge from this perspective not only the overall performance of the economy, but also the contributions of individual organizations and organizational units. Production has not increased fast enough of sophisticated technico-economic products. New production facilities are not performing up to their designed parameters. We have not been successful on a number of occasions in receiving the desired price for our products on either the domestic or the world market. We need to use production assets more efficiently and find practical applications for more findings of R+D programs.

The above facts indicate that so far, despite isolated improvements, there has been no fundamental change in the utilization efficiency of existing capacity in the production base and that only the first steps have been taken on the path to intensifying the economy. Speeding up this process will depend to a large extent on how rapidly we succeed in changing the attitudes and behavior of the enterprise sphere and all levels of management. This is an essential first step in fulfilling new tasks under much more complex economic conditions. The final performance figures for the Seventh 5-Year Plan, to which 1985 made a strong contribution, contain much potential. The active exploitation of these results could lead to a change in the quality of the capital replacement process, to a speeding up and intensification of economic development. This is also a precondition, moreover, for an increase in the standard of living and an improvement in the social certainties of the population.

The failure to fulfill planned targets for increased efficiency was also reflected in financial and budgetary management. The fulfillment of the plan for profits, and therefore also for transfers to the state budget, was influenced unfavorably by the failure to meet planned objectives for the reduction of material, wage and financing costs. The declining efficiency of foreign trade increased the load on the federal budget through the negative balance in financial and economic instruments for foreign trade [FENZO], which worsened over time. Plan fulfillment for sales revenues improved somewhat, although this was largely due to the adjustment in retail

prices that took place in 1984. Shortcomings continued as well in the area of capital investment and the use of accumulated reserves and inventories, where we were not able to implement fully plan objectives in the industrial and construction sectors, despite the fact that several positive trends were evident.

In terms of budgetary expenditures, fewer resources were expended for the economic sphere (and mainly these noninvestment subsidies). The budgetary sphere spent less in the investment and in certain noninvestment categories, while expenditures on behalf of the general population increased. Increased social security expenditures stemmed not only from the usual influences but also from new social measures implemented as of 1 Jan 1985 in the area of retirement security, health insurance, and public assistance to families with children. Preliminary figures indicate that budgetary management in 1985 concluded the year in equilibrium in spite of some deviations from the planned structure of budgetary revenues and expenditures.

In 1986, financial policy will be focused on the following areas, in line with its basic objectives for 1986-1990:

- implementing a fundamental turnaround in the direction of the intensification of the economy, mainly by creating economic pressure and incentives for improving efficiency, by lending support to the material objectives of the plan and by making structural changes, including those actions dictated by the results of stabilization programs;

- improving domestic and foreign economic equilibrium not only as a whole, paying special attention to structural, financial, and currency equilibrium, and to the balancing of the federal budget;

- providing for the further growth and increase in quality of the standard of living of the general public and improving its social certainties as a top priority of economic and social development.

In the area of public production financial instruments designed to facilitate the effective and rapid formation of financial resources and their effective utilization will continue to play an active role, with the objective of increasing their contribution to the financing of public needs and making the economic sphere adopt a more rigorous attitude to financial resources.

The financial management system for VNI and enterprises for the Eighth 5-year Plan, which is based on the Main Objectives for the Further Elaboration of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System, emphasizes the achievement of actual, final management results (by combining the performance of the domestic economy as well as foreign trade), increasing the pressure to uncover underutilized capacities in VNI and enterprises, and improving the khozaschot character of the entire financial management system.

Financial plans must be based on rigorous tasks for resource formation that are in turn based on qualitative indicators. In particular, accelerated profit formation should be achieved primarily by accelerating the decline in

total costs as a percentage of output. The main role in this reduction must be played by a reduction in material costs, chiefly through significant relative savings of raw materials, components, fuel and energy and the accelerated implementation of R&D findings. In addition to this there is the principle of covering investment needs for expenditures on R&D, increased inventories and the like mainly from internal resources of the VNIJ or enterprises.

In addition to combining the profits from domestic operations with those from foreign trade, other ways are under discussion for increasing the incentives available to the production sphere and foreign trade organizations to increase the efficiency of foreign economic relations and to increase the level of evaluation of our products on foreign markets.

In conjunction with ongoing problems in the prices that we obtain for our products on the domestic market it is necessary to increase the active role of the sales tax in the forming and changing of prices through the gradual development of a direct link between the wholesale and retail prices for all types and groups of products, where the proper conditions exist for this to happen. Mainly it is necessary to establish for goods of a nonessential character that, when forming the prices for new and innovative products, as well as for pricing changes, there never occur a negative tax, reverse pricing relationship, or too low a tax rate (based on the ratio of wholesale to retail prices), which would lead to a reduction in sales tax revenues that is not supported by the evidence.

In the financing of R&D we must make better use of the conditions that have been set up since 1985 to facilitate more efficient and flexible strategies. More emphasis must be placed on financing R&D primarily in the economic sphere using funds from the R&D fund, the balances of which are transferrable from year to year. These accounts can be added to from any profits over and above established profit targets. More use must also be made of modified forms of associated financial resources, as well as the management and financial systems now in place in research production associations and units.

Federal budget resources designated for the economic sphere as investment and noninvestment subsidies will be directed towards the financing of publically significant needs; they will be strictly and exclusively funds to be used for special purposes.

The financial base of organizations managed according to khosraschot principles will be strengthened by expanding and putting greater emphasis on the financing of capital asset replacement mainly from internal resources. The financing of investments comes from a single investment account, with the resources in this fund formed based on long term standards (with the exception of special conditions in certain sectors). For the purposes of actively influencing capital investment in line with the plan, the industrial and construction sectors have arranged for a unified transfer from depreciation (in the amount of 40 percent) to the federal budget to support structural changes in individual sectors for the economy. These measures are generating

pressure on the economic activities of organizations in conjunction with the system of standard incentives.

Measures that have been adopted for national committees above all strengthen the actual planned revenues and increase the economic self-sufficiency of the national committee. This is closely related to their coordinational and organizational functions and to their systems of economic incentives and responsibilities for the comprehensive development of territorial units. National committee budgets will now receive the payroll taxes from all the organizations managed by the national committee or by cooperative unions, as well as from state economic organizations in agriculture. They will also receive sales tax revenues and social security contributions from state economic organizations in agriculture.

In conjunction with the increased importance of Project Z and the larger degree of integration of the resources of contingency and development funds in the financing of these projects, national committee budgets will now include planned noninvestment expenditures of the budget sphere, above all those for public services and programs for the general public. Measures have been adopted in housing policy that stimulate cooperative apartment construction and the construction of single family homes. modernization, reconstruction and the overall maintenance of the existing housing stock, etc.

Efforts are continuing to improve the managerial efficiency of the national economy on the basis of recent experiences from the implemented efficiency program of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

The objectives of financial and budget policy are reflected in the following plan tasks for 1986;

- 1) Total profits for the CSSR in 1986 will be Kcs 13.8 billion higher than the expected level for 1985, a 10 percent increase. The increased profits from the domestic economy are to come from reductions in total costs (85 percent of the increase in profits) and from increased output (19.5 percent of the increase). Extraordinary items will negate 4.5 percent of the increase due to output. Total costs as a percentage of output are projected to decline by 1 percent (material and other costs (exclusive of depreciation) will decline by 1.2 percent, wage costs by 1 percent and financing costs by 2.4 percent; depreciation charges, however, are to increase by 2.9 percent).

The relationship of the economic sphere to the state budget reflects the final outcome for society of the planned development of the economy. This is indicated by the balance between transfers to and subsidies from the federal budget. The planned growth of this positive balance from the domestic economy by Kcs 6.94 billion represents an increase of 6.4 percent compared with the projected performance for 1985 and sets the stage for an increase in planned expenditures to develop programs in the noninvestment area, including the development of public consumption financed from the federal budget. Part of this increased positive balance is, however, offset by worsened relationships in the PENZO area as a result of ongoing low efficiency of foreign trade.

Table 1 provides an overview of the transfer and subsidy accounts and how each contributes to the final balance.

These data indicate that we are not yet succeeding in improving the position of our economy in relation to the rest of the world and that it is essential in this area to find more effective ways to improve the efficiency of foreign trade in all areas of exporting and importing. The basic condition for achieving better performance in the exporting of our products is to improve the technical sophistication of these products and to do so at a competitive cost structure. To achieve these goals we will have to focus the attention of the technical and economic divisions of the organizations and VHI producing for export on these objectives.

Table 1 (in billions of korunas)

Item	1985 Expected	1986 Proposed	1986- 1985	Index 1986/85	1986 Adjusted
Total transfers to federal budget;	162.15	174.67	12.52	107.7	176.73
Composed of:					
Transfer from domestic economy	148.22	159.25	11.03	107.4	161.33
Composed of:					
Economic performance and depreciation	111.75	121.78	10.03	109.0	123.84
Social security contributions	32.80	33.26	0.46	101.4	33.12
Revenues, costs, funds	3.67	4.21	0.54	114.7	4.37
Economic instruments of foreign trade, net balance (transfers)	13.93	15.42	1.49	110.7	15.40
Total subsidies	59.02	65.63	6.61	111.2	68.29
Composed of:					
Subsidies to domestic economy	39.94	44.02	4.08	110.2	43.94
Composed of: investment	10.42	13.20	2.78	126.7	13.07
noninvestment	29.52	30.82	1.30	104.4	30.87
Economic instruments of foreign trade, net balance (subsidies)	19.08	21.61	2.53	113.2	24.35
Net balance: transfers and subsidies	103.14	109.03	5.89	105.7	108.44
Composed of: domestic economy	108.29	115.22	6.93	106.4	117.39
Economic instruments of foreign trade	-5.15	-6.19	-1.04	-120.2	-8.95

Tasks related to efficiency enhancement require that organizations take a responsible approach to the performance of their specified tasks, that they search out in the form of a counterplan management potential that they have not used to date. That the conditions exist for this in specific instances is clear based on the examples of the improvers, innovators and employee collectives at many organizations. It is also unfortunately clear from the inspection reports and results of controls of financial organizations and branches of the State Bank.

The fundamental factor in increasing public resources is to reduce costs. It is therefore essential to pay great attention to the further development of production intensification. R&D programs, socialist competitions, the socialist work brigade movement, mass political activity and economic propaganda must all be focused on cost cutting. The achievement of positive results in this area, however, will be impossible without conscientious managerial work, proper organization of production and the political assurance of objectives. For this reason continuing to improve production efficiency and work quality remains the main task of managerial activity during the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

Selected profitability indicators shown in Table 2 indicate the rigorousness of the 1986 financial plan.

The differing growth rates and strictness of the individual profitability indicators is influenced by planned objectives in developing the base of each of these indicators.

Table 2.

Indicator	1986 proposes (%)	index 1986/85
Profitability measured in terms of:		
Total costs	12.66	108.7
Adjusted value added	31.42	105.0
Capital stock	6.28	105.6

2) Inventory turnover period should improve over 1985 performance by 2,1 days in industry and construction, and final inventories in these sectors should decline by Kcs 0.1 billion.

Meeting planned targets in nonindustrial sectors will require in 1986 an increase in inventories of Kcs 4.3 billion. This primarily involves the development of agricultural production, adding to inventories of procurement organizations (by about Kcs 1.9 billion), and adding to and improving the structure of inventories in domestic retail trade (by Kcs 1.5 billion).

Taking into account the reduction of inventories in industry and construction of Kcs 0.1 billion there will be a total increase in the inventories of the economic organizations of the CSSR, including national committees, of Kcs 4.2 billion.

Providing for this demanding development in the area of working capital, especially inventories, is still fraught with many problems. These involve primarily difficulties in obtaining these new, larger inventories, improvements in the structure of inventories mainly in the sense of improving delivery availability to retail and supply organizations, and the systematic weeding out of excess and unnecessary inventories.

3) Overall financial requirements for capital investment in economic organizations will increase by 3.6 percent in comparison with 1985, reaching

the amount of Kcs 134.9 billion. The structure of this financing will shift in the direction of increased use of internal organization resources and budgetary subsidies, while the role of investment loans will decline.

The planned volume of investment for 1986 will assure progress in the restructuring of the national economy in line with the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress. We are devoting special attention to the development of the fuel and power complex with the objective of increasing the number of power generation facilities. In industry the priorities are to develop the chemical, electrotechnical and health care sectors. Increased investments are also planned in transportation and communications as well as in the cultural area and in health care.

In comparison with 1985 financial requirements are Kcs 4.69 billion higher, with actual investment volume accounting for Kcs 2.92 billion, repayment of investment loans Kcs 1.68 billion, and other uses accounting for Kcs 0.9 billion.

The planned financing of these investment requirements for 1986 creates the conditions so that central agencies can allocate planned investment requirements to financial norms after the creation of the corresponding reserves, which are fully covered at the sectoral level.

4) Noninvestment expenditures on R&D will amount to Kcs 19.4 billion. The federal budget will pick up Kcs 8.2 billion of these expenditures (an increase of 4.6 percent over 1985); the economic sphere will pick up 4.9 percent more of these resources than in 1985.

The internal resources of the economic sphere (the R&D account) should account for 57.5 percent of the financing of noninvestment R&D requirements. These resources are allocated in the financial plans of economic organizations and are earmarked to defray expenditures on R&D plan tasks and percentage shares of the financing of federal R&D tasks as well.

For the foreseeable future it is being assumed that R&D will become, even more so than to date, the basic factor in economic growth; it will, however, be so important as to become an economic necessity at all levels of management. It also must be kept in mind that it will not be possible to increase substantially the resources allocated to it, either material or financial. If, then, an acceptable level of R&D effectiveness is to be achieved, it will be essential to better utilize existing resources.

5) Regarding an increase in the standard of living of the general public, noninvestment expenditures on social services and programs for the general public have been established for 1986 at Kcs 165.2 billion, which is 3.2 percent more than in 1985. On a per capita basis, this amounts to an expenditure of Kcs 10,604, which is about Kcs 319 more than in 1985. Necessary investment outlays amount to Kcs 17.2 billion, and increase of 9.1 percent.

6) Expenditures on social security represent more than half of all the federal budget expenditures on public consumption. These outlays are

continually increasing both because of demographic developments and increased wages and because of new measures implemented in this area in recent years. Increased expenditures from the federal budget for modifications in retirement pensions, health insurance and in public assistance to families with children amounted to almost Kcs 8 billion between 1982 and 1985.

For 1986 planned noninvestment expenditures on social security from the republic budgets and national committee budgets total Kcs 90.01 billion, which is Kcs 2.04 billion more than the expected level for 1985.

7) Noninvestment expenditures in the education sector are entered in the 1986 budget in the amount of Kcs 27.07 billion (an increase of 4.3 percent) and include, in addition to the usual annual requirements (wage resources and programs based on federal budget data) a number of other tasks and measures. The federal budget has allocated increased resources for the repair, maintenance and modernization of school facilities, for schools in nature, for the upgrading of dormitories and cafeterias, and for study aids. The budget also includes expenditures on a new program, school electronization, that includes computers for colleges and audiovisual centers.

8) The planned volume of noninvestment expenditures by budget-supported and self-supported organizations of Kcs 27.36 billion (an increase of 7 percent) in the field of health care for 1986 will provide the necessary resources to perform the tasks assigned in the federal plan. It provides the needed wage resources, includes increased expenditures for medicines and special health care equipment (a increase of 8 percent) as well as resources for new tasks and a further increase in the quality of health care.

9) An increase in noninvestment expenditure in 1986 in the area of culture of 9.2 percent in comparison with the projected 1985 figures (an absolute increase of Kcs 4.84 billion) will make it possible both to operate cultural and public facilities and to develop special interest cultural activities, as well as increased maintenance and repair work on places of historical interest and cultural facilities. The budget for the central cultural agencies also provides for the needs of the artists unions mandated by the development of cultural relations with foreign countries on the basis of intercountry agreements valid for the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

10) Total budgeted expenditures on housing construction and housing management will be Kcs 27.3 billion, an increase of 3.6 percent in comparison with 1985.

Budgeted, noninvestment subsidies directly affecting the standard of living of the general public will amount to Kcs 11.1 billion; the majority of these expenditures will be to offset the operating losses of housing management and public mass transit enterprises. Subsidies are also applicable to the price of heat and in certain instances to the procurement of food (especially for slaughter cattle).

The implementation of the above objectives of financial and budgetary policy in 1986 along with the fulfillment of federal plan tasks and currency plan will make it possible to move ahead in improving national economic efficiency, as a condition of future economic development and increased personal and public consumption.

The state budgets for 1986 project increased revenues and expenditures of the budget system of Kcs 15.3 billion (a 4.5 percent increase). This increase reflects both an increasing pace of economic development as well as tasks to assure the increased efficiency of the production sphere and the economical use of the resources that are generated.

Table 3 provides an overview of the state budgets and national committee budgets.

Table 3

Indicator	CSSR		Federation		CSR (including national committee budget)		SSR (including national committee budget; billion Kcs;	
	billion Kcs;	index 86/85	billion Kcs;	index 86/85	billion Kcs;	index 86/85	billion Kcs;	index 86/85
Total revenues of state and national committee budgets	364,06	104,5	201,66	104,7	192,35	104,1	101,91	105,02
Composed of:								
actual state budget revenues (excluding subsidies and subventions)	304,80	104,8	201,66	104,7	74,92	104,9	28,22	105,4
National committee budget revenues (excluding subsidies and subventions)	59,26	101,9	x	x	41,57	101,8	17,69	102,3
Subsidies from federal budget	x	x	x	x	75,86	104,1	56,00	105,8
Total expenditures of state and national committee budgets	364,06	104,5	69,80	104,4	192,35	104,1	101,91	105,2
Composed of:								
actual state budget expenditures	239,10	104,3	69,80	104,4	106,22	104,5	63,08	103,9
Subsidies to republic budgets	x	x	131,86	104,9	x	x	x	x
National committee budget expenditure	124,96	104,9	x	x	86,13	103,7	38,83	107,5
Subsidies and subventions to national committee budgets	(65,69)	106,4	x	x	(44,56)	104,7	(21,13)	110,3

The budget of the Czechoslovak federation accounts for 66.2 percent of total state budget revenues; however, it accounts for only 29.2 percent of total state budget expenditures. The other resources of the budget of the Czechoslovak federation flow in the form of special purpose and general subsidies to the republic budgets to cover their planned requirements, including the needs of the national committee budgets.

These subsidies as a percentage of republic budget expenditures, including subsidies to national committee budgets, amounted to 56.1 percent in 1986, which reflects the planned objectives for their own revenues and expenditures and is in line with the state plan.

Subsidies to the republic budgets are planned in the form of general and special purpose subsidies. Special purpose subsidies were 47 percent of the total in 1986. Most of these subsidies are earmarked as price subsidies (for instance subsidies to procurement prices in the sector managed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, differential payments in agriculture, bonus for marketable produce), as subsidies for selected investment projects that benefit the entire federation (such as subventions for comprehensive housing construction or for the system of water work on the Danube), as subsidies for economic instruments in foreign trade, etc. General subsidies, which account for 53 percent of all subsidies, usually apply to public consumption items that are covered by the republic budgets.

In line with the resolutions of the Sixth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum and based on the improvement of financial, economic and budgetary instruments, efforts of national committee are to be directed to the strengthening and further development of the positive elements in their economic development. National committee budgets for 1986 reflect the necessity of implementing these objectives. Table 4 (see next page) presents their basic outlines.

Planned revenues and expenditures of national committee budgets for 1986 assure that national committees and the organizations they manage can fulfill the tasks before them in all areas of their activity, including satisfying the needs of the general public, making election preparations, creating new election programs, etc.

Table 4. (in billions of korunas)

Indicator	1986 proposed	1986 adjusted	difference 1986-1985	index 1986/85
Total actual national committee budget revenues	38.33	52.70	1.01	102.7
Composed of: transfers and taxes from economic organizations	11.69	11.68	0.44	103.9
other taxes and payments	14.01	27.83	0.26	101.9
Special purpose subventions	33.69	33.48	1.04	103.2
General purpose subsidies	45.63	32.21	3.75	109.0
Other resources	2.49	6.57	-0.23	99.5
Total revenues	120.14	124.96	5.57	104.9
Total subsidies to economic organizations	14.38	14.22	-0.13	99.1
Expenditures on investment by budget-supported and self-supported organizations, total (excluding Project Z)	24.45	24.24	2.06	109.2
Noninvestment expenditures for budget supported and self-supported organizations total	81.31	82.27	3.64	104.7
Composed of: social services and programs for general public	67.19	68.13	2.33	103.6
Expenditures on Project Z	-	4.23	-	-
Total expenditures	120.14	124.96	5.57	104.9

All the above numbers do not reflect the incorporation of the adjustments in wholesale prices that took effect on 1 Jan 1986, nor do they reflect approved modifications in the planned management system in agriculture. These facts, however, have no impact on the growth rates of individual indicators nor do they affect the equilibrium of the overall budgetary system. The laws approved by the appropriate legal agencies that are applicable to individual state budgets in December 1985 are reflected here, however.

It will be possible to fulfill the objectives and tasks contained in the state budgets and national committee budgets for 1986 only through close cooperation with all other managerial entities, and above all by exerting consistent pressure in the direction of further increases in efficiency, improving managerial expertise in the production and nonproduction spheres, achieving financial and budgetary equilibrium and achieving equilibrium in foreign economic relations.

Financial agencies and administrations must direct their efficiency enhancing efforts at the following tasks:

--material cost containment as a basis for fulfilling the demanding targets for cost reduction and profit formation, with an orientation towards implementing structural changes in production that maximize savings of fuel, power, metals, raw materials and that speed up innovational processes;

--exploiting potential for the more efficient and flexible financing of R&D, and exerting pressure to accelerate the application of R&D findings in line with the resolutions of the Eighth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum;

--fostering the deeper participation of our economy in the international socialist integration by developing specialization and production cooperation, direct links between organizations, and the development of R&D and economic cooperation with the USSR;

--providing for the consistent utilization of financial and economic instruments of foreign trade, improving the efficiency of foreign trade and the export competitiveness of our products;

--using noninvestment subsidies more effectively to support the intensification and stabilization of agricultural production and the food industry, to support the acceleration of R&D in the field of electronics, robots, manipulators and other efficiency enhancing measures;

--improving the mix and quality of the products designated for our domestic market, with the objective of increasing the value of goods deliveries for consumer goods inventories and therefore sales tax revenues, and to improve the relationship between wholesale and retail prices;

--linking capital investment by economic organizations to financial resources generated internally and the allocation of these resources in accordance with efficiency criteria;

--striving to make the maximum use of accumulated inventories, to improve their structure in the direction of an increased percentage of saleable goods;

--utilizing the existing possibilities within national committee for strengthening responsibility for the development of designated areas, for strengthening their organizational and coordinating functions, for implementing adopted measures for the merging of resources and programs and the further development of Project Z, for increasing the efficiency and profitability of specific sectors, and utilizing flexible, auxiliary forms for the development of production and services;

--consistently assuring an equilibrium between revenues and expenditures of the budget system as a whole as well as in its individual components through active measures to assure the collection of planned budgetary revenues and strict controls on expenditures.

To fulfill the demanding tasks of 1986, the first year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, it is essential to use worker initiative as a fundamental factor in

the intensification of our economy, and to focus this initiative in line with the resolutions of the 15th and 16th CPCZ Central Committee Plenums, namely on improving the qualitative aspects of development. One essential requirement is an increase in the sophistication of all managerial and organizational activities, of ideological-motivational work, an overall improvement in discipline, order, and an increase in expectations for quality work in all spheres.

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CSO: 2400/240

ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

EHRENBERGER SATISFIED WITH ENERGY SECTOR'S PERFORMANCE

AU151117 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 12 of 26 Mar 86 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Vlastimil Ehrenberger, CSSR minister of Fuels and Power, by Vlastimil Svoboda: "Power Engineering and Further Developments"—place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Svoboda] Comrade Minister, how did the sector of fuels and power conclude the Seventh 5-Year Plan?

[Ehrenberger] All branches fulfilled their production tasks. The coal industry extracted almost 631 million metric tons of coal and lignite and exceeded the plan by 1 percent. The ever-increasing importation of natural gas from the Soviet Union and the utilization of our own production-extraction capacities made smooth deliveries of heating gas possible. Our own resources for city gas supplied 15.5 billion cubic meters and exceeded the plan by 0.6 percent. We extracted almost 3.5 billion cubic meters of natural gas, and we exceeded the plan for extraction of crude oil by 4.4 percent. The power engineering sector was working in conditions of a considerably strained performance balance sheet. New nuclear capacities were lagging, and the low river levels were unfavorable for the operation of hydroelectric power plants. Despite that, public utilities exceeded the plan by 1.3 percent and delivered 331.5 billion kilowatt hours into the grid. The intensification of production in steam-operated power plants exclusively contributed to this.

[Svoboda] The capital construction, in particular, influences the present and the future of the [power engineering] sector. Could you, Comrade Minister, characterize its results and development?

[Ehrenberger] In the Seventh 5-Year Plan we invested more than Kcs95 billion. We acquired new extraction capacities, whose annual production is 34 million metric tons of coal. A total of 56 compressors were put into operation on the international gas pipelines, their annual transportation capacity reached 53 billion cubic meter of natural gas, and after finishing the fourth section, the line will be about 4,000 km long. The capacities of underground natural gas reservoirs were increased, and new propane-butane gas filling facilities were built. The brown coal-burning power plant, the Prunerov II, went into operation, as well as the pumped storage

hydroelectric power plant on Cierny Vah and a hydroelectric power plant in Kralova. Centralized heating plants were built in Trnava, Plzen, Karlovy Vary, Kosice, and in Zilina.

Nuclear power engineering plays a decisive role in capital construction. About Kcs 24 billion were spent on it in the past quinquennium. Three units, with 440 MW capacity each, went into operation in Jaslovske Bohunice and Dukovany. In the next 5 years, 5 such blocks will be finished with an estimated cost of almost Kcs 40 billion for nuclear power engineering. More than Kcs 8 billion will be spent for centralized heat supply and conventional power engineering; the hydroelectric project at Gabcikovo on the Danube river will be a crucial investment. Kcs 6 billion for the expansion of the interstate gas pipeline is being projected. In the coal industry, one of the biggest investments will be the construction of new Frenstat and Slany mines and a coking plant in the Ostrava-Karvina basin. We are aware of the exceptionally exacting nature of capital investment, for which the preliminary draft of the Eighth 5-Year Plan earmarked almost Kcs 115 billion. When choosing and deciding on new projects, we used as criterion, above all, their contribution to the acceleration of the process of the intensification of national economy. Our main task is to utilize the expended resources as thriftily as possible.

[Svoboda] You spoke about nuclear power engineering. Are we succeeding in accelerating its development and making it more effective?

[Ehrenberger] According to the original assumptions of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, six or seven units with 440 MW reactors were to be in operation by the end of last year. The shortcomings in construction resulted in only 5 of them being built. The causes were analyzed in detail and summarized in the resolution of the Presidium of the CSSR Government. On the basis of this analysis and with the cooperation of all participants, the year before last we were successful for the first time in complying with the newly-established deadlines. And last year, the successful test run of the first of the Dukovany nuclear power plant unit began, and conditions were created for connecting the second unit in Jaslovske Bohunice to the power system 2 weeks ahead of schedule. Not so long ago operation of the second Dukovany block went critical. Construction enterprises had decided to shorten the annual deadlines between turning over the third and the fourth units by a total of 7 months. Thus we have succeeded in accelerating the nuclear power development. The next step in making the construction and operations more effective is to change to power plants with 1,000 MW units as will be the case in Temelin.

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CSO: 2400/268

ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FINANCE MINISTER ON CSSR FOREIGN DEBT

AUI41121 Prague PRACE in Czech 26 Mar 86 p 7

[Interview with CSSR Minister of Finance Jaromir Zak, by PRACE staff journalist Moroslav Pavel in Prague on 25 March: "Finances For Intensification"]

[Excerpts] [Pavel] What is Czechoslovakia's current financial situation like?

[Zak] All information, all figures, and the balance sheet show that it is good. As regards the creation of financial resources, the Seventh 5-Year Plan, including the final year, ended favorably. This made it possible to ensure a balanced state budget, contribute to the acceleration of economic development, strengthen our citizens, social security, markedly reduce indebtedness in freely convertible currencies vis-a-vis foreign countries.

[Pavel] You spoke about paying off the loans we have taken abroad. What is the present state of our obligations abroad?

[Zak] The situation with respect to foreign currencies is balanced. That means that moneys due to us from abroad and our debts abroad are roughly equal. It is understandable that one cannot ignore the geographical distribution and timing of our obligations and the moneys owed to us, which do not always permit obligations and moneys owed to be in complete balance. It is, therefore, a permanent task of our socialist state's economic policy to ensure the healthy development of our balance of payments with the non-socialist states.

[Pavel] Does that mean that we are not going to ask for any loans?

[Zak] That cannot be said. The positive results achieved in the development of the economy in recent years, the higher economic potential of our state—all that creates wider scope for us to grant credits abroad, as well as for us possibly to draw on external sources. Provided of course, that this benefits our economy and society. After all, one cannot imagine today's world economy without developed credit relations.

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CSO: 2400/268

ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

USSR MINISTERS ARRIVE—Prague (CTK)—Yuriy Konyshov, first deputy vice-chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived yesterday [13 April] in Prague for a working visit. He is accompanied by Vladimir Kliuyev, USSR minister of light industry, and by Lev Vasilyev, USSR minister of engineering for the light and food industries and household appliance manufacture. At Ruzyně Airport they were welcomed by Pavol Bahyl, CSSR minister of general engineering and other personalities. Viktor Lomakin USSR ambassador to the CSSR also attended the welcoming ceremony. During their working visit, the guests will discuss issues of expanding mutual cooperation in areas of light and food industries. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Apr 86 p 2 AU] /9738

SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL AGREEMENT WITH U.S.—Developing relations—After several years of negotiations, a cultural and scientific-technological agreement between the CSSR and the United States was signed in Prague yesterday [15 April]. The agreement calls for the development of cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of cultural, educational, scientific-technological, and health-care relations. [CTK report in the "International Relations" column] [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Apr 86 p 8 AU] /9738

USSR, ECONOMIC ISSUES—Prague (CTK)—CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal received at the Prague Hradane Palace on Wednesday [16 April] Yuriy Maslyukov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is paying a visit to the CSSR. In a talk, the premier stressed the importance of strengthening further the CSSR-USSR economic and scientific-technological cooperation for the realization of the Czechoslovak economy's demanding plans in the 1986-90 period. In this connection, the necessity was expressed for a close cooperation in the fulfillment of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technological Progress of the CEMA Member-States up to the Year 2000 in the areas of electrical engineering, electronics, and computer technology, which will increasingly influence the effectiveness of technology and the growth of labor productivity in the decisive branches of the national economy. [Excerpt] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Apr 86 p 1 AU] /9738

CSO: 2400/268

ECONOMY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

RETAIL TRADE IN INDUSTRIAL CONSUMER GOODS EXAMINED

Consumer Demands Increasingly Met

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 27 Mar 86 p 6

[Interview with Dr Lothar Poppe, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Leipzig Bezirk and Chairman of the Bezirk Planning Commission and Prof Dr Hans-Joachim Lotze, Leipzig School of Commerce, by Dr Maxi Wartelsteiner]

[Box, p.6] We wish to use this forum to discuss problems relating to the economic strategy of our party with high-level economic functionaries and leading economic scientists. Up to now, we have brought together partners who represented both theoretical and practical viewpoints--e.g. with regard to questions concerning the economics of basic and other materials and the strength of the combines.

Today we present Dr. Poppe and Prof. Lotze in a discussion concerning high-quality consumer goods, the efficient production of which is a basic component in the economic and social strategy of our party.

[Text] [Question] Erich Honecker recently said at the Berlin conference of delegates of the SED that "when the enterprises turn out ever more modern products, the citizens justifiably expect that they will also encounter this scientific-technological progress in the shops, as well." If one wishes to follow the dynamics of this demand, this means that consumer goods "must be constantly upgraded and improved at a rapid rate of 30 - 40 percent annually." --Such a clear statement makes it evident that the manufacture of more and more attractive consumer goods is becoming a key question for the continued realization of our economic and social policy.

Dr. POPPE: This also clearly implies that the orientation to a stepped-up production of consumer goods as a focal point of intensification is a basic component of the economic strategy of our party in general. This is a strategy concerned not only with CAD/CAM solutions and other advanced technologies, but which also is seriously concerned with "toothbrushes, water buckets, parkas and bed sheets," to refer once again to the speech cited at

the beginning. It might be that here and there one or the other combines is trying to avoid the issue, hoping that "this whole boom in consumer goods" might pass it by. In general, however, the work was taken up some time ago in our country and in our district. The scope of the production of consumer goods is widening in a noticeable way, the selection is broadening, the percentage of new products is growing constantly. This is due in part to the fact that we have been able to make even those combines which primarily produce capital goods also responsible for the development and production of high-quality consumer goods, including supplies and rationalization measures for the end producers of consumer goods. This is in keeping with their overall responsibility to the national economy.

Effective and Attractive Through Improved Refining

[Question] To be sure, high-quality consumer goods, unlike basic consumer goods, cannot be produced in an ancillary way, but rather only within the framework of the complex reproduction process.

Prof. LOTZE: In 1985, 20 percent of industrial goods came from the combines, which are primarily oriented to means of production. It is becoming increasingly important to carefully prepare production. Attention must be paid to ensuring adequate research and development capacities and discriminating industrial design. Production divisions or production enterprises must be built up in which suitable technologies are utilized. This is impossible without streamlining measures, without modernized basic materials and flexible automation. However, the key ingredient in all of this is quality.

Dr. POPPE: For example, if the so-called "surplus inventory" increases in certain assortments of goods, this does not ordinarily mean that there is no corresponding demand. Usually it signifies that the customers are unwilling to accept the quality of the goods proffered.

Prof. LOTZE: Expressed in dollars or pounds sterling, the world market prices for wool, cotton and leather have developed over the long run in such a way that one can actually speak of "costly raw and other materials." But domestic raw materials, too, have a right to be processed and finished with skill and care. But savings in materials should under no circumstances be allowed to lead to a compromise in quality. Such parsimoniousness would, in the final analysis, direct itself against the producers and society. Complaints, refinishing, repairs not only reduce our wealth; they are above all a source of annoyance and vexation to the customer, depriving him of his valuable leisure time.

[Question] Let us consider for a moment the topic of refining. This process plays a very essential role in the consumer goods sector. In view of the level of international comparison, it is obvious that we are less concerned with matters relating to packaging, which in themselves are not unimportant, than above all with a more favorable ratio of quantity to workmanship.

Dr. POPPE: A higher quality of consumer goods makes it possible to produce greater quantities of unit items without the need for more materials. At the same time, the effectiveness of the supply system is increased. The demand for spare parts is declining in relative terms, despite increasing production of units of end products. We are basing our strategy on the assumption that use-value must necessarily, not as much as possible, be linked to design and quality. What we need are products with a high degree of utility for the customer, which can be efficiently manufactured. Refining contributes to rational consumption. This means energy savings in the home or the possibility of the modernization of high-quality electrical and electronic consumer goods.

What we understand by refining can be explained using the example of foodstuffs and non-essential food and drink. Our high per capita consumption of meat and butter is quite notorious. To put it somewhat differently: eight percent of our arable land is cultivated only for our excess poundage. Healthy alternatives are needed here: highly refined meat, milk or fish products, for example.

Prof. LOTZE: At the same time, a quite positive tendency can be seen recently in retail sales. The sales of industrial goods is increasing more rapidly than that of basic and non-basic food items. Now it is important to expand these rudimentary tendencies by means of an attractive selection of high-quality industrial consumer goods.

[Question] ... and this is true for several reasons...

Prof. LOTZE: One reason is definitely connected with the supply of goods and the principle of socialist work performance. Whoever works well wants to live well. And the reverse is also true: whoever wants to live well is motivated to perform better.

But there are two other factors which are also of importance. In the first place, the average family's income is increasing from year to year, while their basic expenditures hardly increase at all. After all, we guarantee stable prices not only for basic foodstuffs, but also for many other regularly recurring expenditures, such as rent, transportation etc. The "disposable assets" of families are increasing along with their income, also in the form of more savings. In the second place, most people are so well outfitted with durable consumer goods, with clothing etc., that they rarely need to purchase anything if they are not convinced of the quality and attractiveness of the product under consideration. This fact makes it clear why it is important to offer new, demand-oriented products!

Dr. POPPE: There is now a justifiable demand for greater use-value of a new acquisition, not simply replacement of an old television set, for example.

As to which areas should receive priority for the expansion and modernization of goods, there are a number of orientation points for this question. However, market research that is oriented to life styles and basic knowledge concerning the growth in demand are only useful if industry reacts rapidly and flexibly to changes in demand.

Prof. LOTZE: It is the role of commerce, however, to represent more effectively the interests of the consumers with regard to industry. The commercial sector must consistently utilize the opportunities afforded it by planning regulations, the contract law etc.--on behalf of an effective cooperation with industry in the interest of social efficiency and of its clientele.

Sponsorship Help Results in Gold Medal

[Question] A moment ago, the planning regulations were mentioned. Who has the responsibility for seeing to it that especially those enterprises which primarily produce means of production do not bring consumer goods which are not demand-oriented onto the market?

Dr. POPPE: In the first place, we have in place a well-functioning system of planning and balancing which is well proven in the traditional sector of consumer goods and which is continually being perfected. For the combines which manufacture means of production, however, it is often a case of entering upon unfamiliar territory. For they are now asked to deal with partners such as domestic trade or businesses which handle consumer goods. As balancing organs, the latter naturally place demands on or even occasionally reject a partner that is unable to produce a consumer good in a cost-effective way, thereby hurting efficiency.

The work of the principal enterprises for certain product groups is receiving new impulses. They now really have to go on the offensive, come up with proposals, in order to finally awaken new needs with new products and to close deficits. An extraordinary success factor in the district has been sponsorship relations between enterprises and combines that are managed both centrally and on the district level. This is true above all when it is a question of not allowing the small enterprises to be circumvented by key technologies. As the district council, we have important tasks relating to coordination. These tasks concern joint mid-range rationalization measures as well as cooperative relationships, joint investments or the joint development of materials. As was the case, for example, between the artificial leather and fur-processing combine and the district-managed "Aktuell Lederwaren" combine, the result was a gold medal awarded at a trade fair for a set of luggage. CAL Grimma, for example, helped the paper products factory in Grimma in a socialist way to modernize its production process and to increase labor productivity. This is additional proof that we have already taken concrete steps to increase the efficiency of our production of consumer goods.

New Products, Services, Attention to Customer Demand

Prof. LOTZE: If one speaks of planning and needs, it is no longer sufficient to make a list of what is missing and to orient oneself to this list. One should not, of course, overlook such information. But above all the important thing is the stable and long-range solution of the relationship between total commodities available and disposable income. Various factors must be taken into consideration in this regard, including demographic developments, changes

in the population structure and new lifestyles and consumer behavior, as well as the general impact of the increase in the level of education. It is logical that there are differences in the wear and tear on footwear at ages one, four or thirty. It should not be overlooked that older segments of the population as well are today dressing more youthfully, more sportily and more fashionably. The use of leisure time is undergoing a transformation. The demand for sporting goods and for do-it-yourself items is increasing. Corresponding decisions have been made for new structures and proportions within the production of consumer goods. These are reflected in the new planning regulations and in the draft of the Five Year Plan for 1986-1990.

Dr. POPPE: Everything that has been discussed confirms the high value placed by the party of the working class on the production of consumer goods in our country. Growth is underway in many areas, in order to deal with the high rates of increase and renewal that are required. The streamlining that must be carried out cannot happen overnight. But one thing is certain: the increase in performance levels, especially in the district-managed combines, will be primarily reflected in the production of consumer goods. But what may be initially a quantitative problem, however, cannot be continued in a linear, quantitative production policy. Improved national economic results require improved quality. This means, among other things, new products, paying attention to consumer wishes and improved service.

Prof. LOTZE: In keeping with the unity of economic and social policy, it could be put like this: consumer goods are the actual end products of all production, for consumption is, in the final analysis, the ultimate goal of production.

FRG Analysts Comment

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 51 3 Apr 86 pp 1,2

[Text] "A positive tendency" can be noted in the retail sales volume of the GDR, in the view of Prof. Dr. Hans-Joachim Lotze, Leipzig expert for domestic trade. The retail turnover is increasing faster for industrial goods than for foodstuffs and luxury food and drink. These trends must be developed by means of an attractive selection of high-quality industrial consumer goods, Prof. Lotze emphasized in an interview. He pointed to the surplus purchasing power in the GDR in this regard. He cited the fact that household income is increasing from year to year, while there is hardly an increase in basic expenditures. Along with income, Prof. Lotze states, the "Manoevriermasse" [disposable assets] of the families is also increasing, "also in the form of increased savings deposits." In the view of Prof. Lotze, who teaches at the Leipzig School of Commerce, in the area of planning "it is no longer sufficient to make a list of what is missing and to orient oneself to this list." The "long-range solution of the relationship between total commodities available and disposable income" requires that "demographic developments, changes in the population structure and new lifestyles and consumer habits, as well as the impact of the general rise in the educational level, be taken into consideration."

Basic foodstuffs continue to dominate the retail turnover of the GDR. They account for about one-third (1984 = M 34.8 billion) of all goods sold. This percentage is disproportionately high in comparison with Western countries. The sales of non-basic food and drink has steadily increased along with the rise in the standard of living (1984 = M 20.5 billion). In terms of quantity, however, the level of consumption is as a whole below that of the FRG. Sales of manufactured goods, which stagnated in 1982 and 1983, have, to be sure, once again risen (1984 = M 53.3 billion), but accounting as this figure does for just fifty percent of entire retail sales, it has a remarkably small impact for an industrialized national economy. This can be attributed above all to the inadequate supply of attractive new products. Households are by now so well-equipped with durable consumer goods that there is no reason for many GDR families to make purchases if they are not convinced of the quality and attractiveness of a product or if the product does not satisfy new needs. It is noteworthy in this regard that savings balances of the GDR population have risen enormously. At the end of 1984, savings bank deposits amounted to about M 120 billion as compared with 17 billion in 1960 and 52 billion in 1970. Observers believe that savings bank deposits of GDR citizens will this year surpass M 125 billion.

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CSO: 2300/298

ECONOMY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES TO WORK MORE CLOSELY WITH COMBINES

East Berlin WIRTSCHAFTSRECHT in German Vol 17 No 1, Jan 86 (signed to press 25 Nov 85) pp 1-3

[Article by Dr Gerhard Weidlich, deputy chairman of the State Contract Court]

[Text] The 11th SED Central Committee Plenum deliberated on the tasks that are in the center of the work of the party of the working class and our people as a whole. It oriented on comprehensively combining the national discussion on the fundamental problems of our time with the solution of the current tasks of domestic and foreign policy and with our successful balance sheet since the Tenth SED Congress. In accordance with the requirements of the economic strategy for the further strengthening of the GDR economic power, the decisions required for the future were made to continue the tested course of the main task in the long run. The good initial positions for the solution of the tasks which the 11th SED Congress will decide for the coming years were expanded. The results of the fulfillment of the 1985 Economic Plan confirm this fact. "With the 1986 Economic Plan the economic strategy of the SED, tested by life, is being further implemented in conformance with the rapidly growing requirements of the scientific-technical revolution and our social development."¹ Decisive in this connection is the fundamental change towards comprehensive intensification, the development of the material and intellectual potential, the comprehensive linking of the advantages of the socialist society with the results of the scientific-technical revolution. The main instrument of the socialist economic leadership is the state plan. Its fulfillment and specific surpassing decisively depends on the increasingly more effective utilization of science and technology and on the more comprehensive development of the creative initiative of the working people. Fulfillment of the great requirements in the comprehensive intensification demands further perfecting of management, planning, and economic accountability. The socialist commercial law and the commercial contracts must also be made more effective in this connection.

With the new version nearly all fundamental regulations of commercial law since the 10th SED Congress, comprehensive and synchronized legal regulations are in force based on the corresponding decisions of party and government, which are required for the economic strategy directed at the continuing pursuit of the policy of the main task for the second half of the eighties and beyond that. The contribution of the State Contract Court consists in influencing the consistent implementation of these legal regulations in the work of the plants, combines and state organs as well as in participating in the preparation of the required legal

regulations. To raise efficiency in the economy, it is a task of high political and economic rank to effectively support the initiative of the plants and combines in organizing and achieving effective relations of cooperation for the 1986 Economic Plan. Better mastery and smooth development of the interlocking economic relations requires, simultaneously with the timely and complete buttressing of the state plan quotas with commercial contracts, guaranteeing adherence to the contracts even more consistently. As a matter of principle, the economy does not balance contract arrears with advance deliveries. What is important is the use-value fulfillment and not merely fulfillment of the plans in terms of value.

Therefore, the following tasks crystallize for the court rulings:

Structuring of Coordination and Performance Contracts Between the Industrial Combines and Plants and the Institutions of the Academy of Sciences as Well as Universities and Colleges

With the decisions of the 9th and 10th SED Central Committee Plenums measures were instituted which will continue to trigger a significant structural change in all branches of the economy. Thus the strategic development directions will be met, which, starting from the objective development trends of the productive forces are required. It is especially necessary to broadly apply direction and pace of the key technologies determining scientific-technical progress and to achieve top positions in decisive fields. Hereby the close link between science and production is of decisive importance. Their relationships were considerably expanded. Research at the Academy and in the university system should largely correspond to the requirements of the technical-technological development of the combines. The commercial contract plays an important role in this connection. The research cooperation of the industrial combines with the Academy of Sciences, the universities and the colleges is to be stipulated in commercial contracts on the basis of the plan. In the past such tasks were achieved by those involved mostly on behalf of the state on the basis of the approved research and development topics. The effectiveness that is guaranteed by an exact contractual agreement and its fulfillment was not sufficiently exploited. Therefore the State Contract Court is confronted with the task of supporting this "qualitatively new step"² in the exemplary shaping of coordination contracts for research cooperation as a whole and performance contracts for the individual segments of research work. The main fields of the research cooperation must be covered by cooperation contracts to create stable foundations for the contractual relations concerning the concrete tasks of basic and applied research. By means of the cooperation contracts it must be guaranteed that the institutions of the Academy and of the university system take into consideration the long-term technical-technological development of the combines in defining preliminary basic research. Finally the coordination contracts must also include the measures on the basis of which the research cooperation to be agreed upon in the performance contracts on the individual tasks is supported in the long term. With the issuance of a new research decree³ generally the orientation for the economic relations between combines and scientific institutions as well as a framework for the preparation of commercial contracts will be available.

Assuring High Flexibility and Continuity of Production and Sales

Quick and flexible reaction to the rapidly changing conditions of the domestic market and of the external markets (socialist world and nonsocialist world) also is one of the crucial questions of the intensively expanded reproduction in the second half of the eighties and beyond that. To the degree to which the transition to the intensively expanded reproduction is practically carried out in the CEMA member countries, rate and volume of the replacement of the production will necessarily continue to increase. The 1986 Economic Plan provides for a replacement rate of 28 percent. Therefore, in preparation for the 11th SED Congress it is important to raise the suppliers' flexibility and ability to react to newly developing demand requirements. Repeated reports have been made concerning the one prerequisite for that, namely the application of the Order and Delivery Terms Decree.⁴ However, it is not to be separated from the introduction of more prefabrication, the increase in the inventories of the suppliers at the expense of the inventories of the consumers as well as from the effectiveness of the trade in means of production and the gradual introduction of production controlled material supplies. The results thus far achieved in increasing the economy's flexibility and ability to react is not yet completely satisfactory, but a series of manufacturing and consumer enterprises have practically utilized the favorable conditions created with the Order and Delivery Terms Decree and with the supply regulations to revise their orders 3 months prior to the delivery quarter without sanctions or to conclude annual contracts with a rough assortment. Thus, e.g., the production of certain designs of bipolar and unipolar monolithic integrated circuits on semiconducting carriers could be reduced by flexible application of the Order and Delivery Terms Decree by 6.75 percent and 5.6 percent, respectively, and could be adjusted to satisfying the changed demand by inclusion of the newly needed designs. There are also good examples of flexible supply in the case of metallurgical products.

However, proceedings and investigations of the State Contract Court reveal that many plants in 1986 placed or requested their orders at the same early time as in previous years. Taking into consideration the thus far available experiences as regards flexible reaction of suppliers and orderers, the chairman of the State Contract Court, in consultation with the heads of the competent central organs, issued the Fundamental Declaration No. 4 of 2 December 1985 on the Application of the Order and Delivery Terms Decree.⁵ With this announcement, the enterprises received a guideline for the uniform application of this legal regulation. It will be a task of the State Contract Court to provide examples of the implementation of the Order and Delivery Terms Decree on the side of the orderers as well as on that of the suppliers in application proceedings as well as in proceedings without application, especially as regards the quarterly specification. Here the preparation of the conclusion of a contract for 1987 as well as the specification of the second and third quarters of 1986 are on the agenda even now.

In this connection, the second important task consists in the exertion by the State Contract Court of greater influence on increasing the continuity of production and sales. Last year, too, some of the plants and combines which worked on model solutions of a high continuity in production and sales were supported by consultations and in the rulings. This process is being continued this year by the State Contract Court. In this connection it is especially important to

help eliminate the frequently occurring gap between production and sales continuity by influencing the improvement of the sales continuity. That must be done by the establishment of appropriate performance deadlines in the contracts. In Article 51, the contract law regulates the principle that the performance deadline between the plant is to be so set that a longer performance deadline than one month on principle is not permissible. Thus the contract law makes possible the application of the ten-day deadline, but does not specifically orient on it. It was legally regulated⁶ that the ten-day period is regarded as generally customary performance deadline. The performance time in the commercial contracts, while taking into account the technological conditions in production, effective stockkeeping as well as the development of optimum packaging and transport processes in agreement with the manhour fund available within the ten-day periods, is to be agreed upon basically by ten-day deadlines or deadlines within the ten-day period. It is important to implement these deadlines that assure continuity. Therefore, the State Contract Court will apply these principles of decisionmaking in proceedings to change the relationship of the contracting partners independently of the application of the enterprises. The new legal orientation is to be supported at the same time by a binding interpretation of the contract law. Therefore this necessary requirement was taken into consideration as part of the more precise definition of the Fundamental Declaration No. 3/1972 by the Fundamental Declaration No. 3/1985.⁷

Timely Contractual Safeguarding and Implementation According to Plan of Economically Important Investment Projects

At the Ninth and Tenth SED Central Committee plenums and at the Eighth Construction Conference, the requirement to consistently continue the path of the comprehensive intensification of the economy was again confirmed and for this purpose to decisively raise the contribution of the investments by concentrated employment of the material and financial funds.⁸ W. Stoph, in substantiating the 1986 Economic Plan in the People's Chamber, pointed out that the contractual commitment of all deliveries and performances for the investment projects included in the economic plan must be accomplished by the end of December 1985. Since the experiences from the rulings indicate that the conclusion of contracts drags on in some cases to the first quarter of the new plan year, principal attention is to be directed towards the immediate contractual commitment of the remaining projects.

In the weeks remaining prior to the 11th SED Congress, it is above all important to support the implementation according to plan of the projects whose completion and putting into operation were decided in honor of the party congress. Furthermore, influence is to be exerted on the safeguarding by cooperation of the preparation and implementation according to plan of selected investment projects of great economic importance, especially of projects for the accelerated introduction of scientific-technical results and key technologies as well as for the assurance of the production of high-grade products for the consumer supply. Of special importance for the investment principals is the safeguarding of the full contractual commitment for the contributory performances of the general contractors, the main contractors or other important contractors in the preparation of the task and the decision on principle, since the timely conclusion of the

preparation of the investment projects to be achieved in 1987 depends thereon. The State Contract Court will and must contribute this year, too, to the co-operative safeguarding of the projects of complex residential construction, especially to guarantee the full completion of the residential areas, including the external plants as well as the safeguarding of high quality and completeness of the performance. Efforts by plants that still occur in isolated instances to achieve a reduction of the performance even though its completeness has not yet been achieved must be resolutely rejected.

In the influence exerted by the State Contract Court on the conclusion and fulfillment of the commercial contracts on investments, it is especially important that

--stable foundations for the further preparation of the investments be created through the development of qualified tasks with early and comprehensive inclusion of contractor enterprises of construction and of equipment enterprises,

--the preparation of the investments be accomplished according to the rules and regulations and according to the economic targets and deadlines set with the plan of the preparation through the development and issuance according to target date and quality specifications of binding offers including binding price quotations,

--unjustified project planning expenditures and thus economic losses be avoided through the strict separation between preparation and implementation of the investments and the contents of the commercial contracts applied to the respective phase,

--with the development of the commercial contracts on the participation in the preparation of the decision in principle, attention be directed early at instituting measures to ensure the capacity for the later achievement of the investments and the required correspondence to the requirements set down in the plan and in the balance sheet be established,

--with the agreements in the commercial contracts on the implementation of the investments, adherence to and improvement of the technical and economic indicators established and confirmed in the decision on principle be guaranteed,

--the commercial contracts on the implementation comprise the entire period of the implementation of the investment and the agreements on the extent of the performance ensure an effective management organization and structure of the cooperation relations as well as concentrated construction and assembly work and the shortest possible construction periods.

Achievement of High State Discipline in the Organization and Implementation of the Contractual Relations

It is an important task of the State Contract Court to exert influence on the timely, complete conclusion of a contract in accordance with demand. In this connection, it is important to consistently realize the balance decisions in the designing processes and to support the plants and combines in the organization of the cooperation relations required for the fulfillment of the 1986

Economic Plan. Cooperation problems which cannot be decided in the plants' own responsibility must be settled in time by directions of the State Contract Court to the combines and to the central state organs. The development in 1985 showed that hereby the timely and complete contractual commitment of the state plan positions assumes special economic importance. State plan item in which repeated fulfillment backlogs have occurred are in the foreground in this connection. Starting from the balances and production quotas it is important in utilizing these processes to submit proposals for a higher complexity of the planning and balancing decisions as well as for raising the effectiveness of the balancing decree. According to planning law regulations, the balancing combines and the combines charged with balancing regularly have to control the status of the contractual commitment even in preparation of the balances. In the coordination of the balances the necessary decisions concerning the conclusion of the contracts must be made or proposals for decision must be submitted to the organs confirming the balances. The value attributed to the timely and complete conclusion of the contract is expressed by the implementing regulation of 28 November 1985 to the contract law--Ensuring the Timely Conclusion of the Contract.⁹ In the future, the suppliers will have to pay a penalty for breach of contract to the orderers if they delay or refuse conclusion of contracts without justification and thus violate the deadlines set down or agreed upon in the legal regulations or coordination contracts for the conclusion of the contract. This implementing regulation, which goes into effect on 1 February 1986, no longer takes full effect for the conclusion of contracts in 1986 since most of the contract offers have been submitted and the industrial goods production to be sold in 1986 in the areas of the industrial ministries was already more than 50 percent committed by contract in November 1985; the implementing regulation does apply to the contract offers still to be made this plan year. Thus most enterprises have sufficient time to adapt themselves to the new situation.

The key points in terms of contents in influencing the organization and implementation of the contractual relations are formed by selected tasks of the science and technology state plan, especially by the key technologies and the new materials, such as ceramics for technical fields of use. A further key point results from the support of general suppliers in the development of the required cooperation relations for the realization of installation export projects according to the contract as well as on influencing the fulfillment of the export commitments.

In accordance with the constantly increasing level of equipment of the households with durable industrial consumer goods, as well as the requirements of the modernization of maintenance according to plan and the longer use of the fund for fixed assets in the economy, it is important to pay maximum attention to the supply according to demand with spare parts, subassemblies and accessories. In the regulation of 14 November 1985 issued in this connection on the Preparation and Implementation of the Plan for the Safeguarding of the Spare Parts Supply¹⁰, it is especially stated that the plants and combines which produce finished products with spare parts and accessories, starting in 1986 had to prepare a plan for ensuring the spare part supply as a component of the plant and combine plan.

Starting from the responsibility of the final producer for the spare part supply, it is important to conclude contracts between him and the user which can be precisely fulfilled. That is to say, that the conclusion of the contracts of the final producers with the users coincides with the contracts concluded by the final producer with the suppliers. Thus the State Contract Court--to achieve realistic contracts--in the developing proceeding in which the final producer refuses conclusion of the contract for spare parts because no contractual commitment with the supplier has been achieved, will include the supplier in the proceeding and will have to make a complex decision. Not least, what is involved in the exertion of influence of the State Contract Court is the consistent adherence to the commercial contracts and the rapid elimination of contract backlogs. Support of the fulfillment of the tasks in the field of national defense must be at the top of the list.

The State Contract Court will analyze the essential findings on lack of management activity in relation to the plant directors and general directors of the combines made in proceedings which have as their object the payment of penalties for breach of contract as well as in proceedings dealing with ensuring co-operation and with controls. Also by imposition of state targets the rapid elimination of contract backlogs must be influenced. On the other hand, the State Contract Court, when giving recognition especially will have to develop for general dissemination at the same time the positive experiences gained from the work with the commercial contracts.

The responsibility of the State Contract Court for the fact that the socialist commercial law will make an increasingly effective contribution to the implementation of the economic strategy of the SED according to the requirements of intensification can be taken care of only in coordination of the full-time contract judges with the honorary contract judges, the arbitrators. Over 2,000 arbitrators who are involved in practical life and possess the economic, technical, and plant organizational knowledge required for the decision of facts to be made are guarantors for the fact that the socialist commercial law and the social interests expressed in it will be implemented consistently but always in agreement with the justified interests of the plants and combines.

FOOTNOTES

1. W. Stoph, "Speech at the 12th GDR People's Chamber Session on the Substantiation of the Law on the 1986 Economic Plan," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, of 30 Nov/1 Dec 85, p 3 (B).
2. G. Mittag, "Speech at the 12th GDR People's Chamber Session on the 1986 Economic Plan," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND of 30 Nov/1 Dec 85, p 6 (B).
3. Will be published in the near future.
4. "Decree of 5 Jan 84 on Order and Delivery Terms for Raw Materials and Other Materials--Order and Delivery Terms Decree--(GESETZBLATT I, No. 2, p 9); cf. M. Flegel, "For Greater Flexibility of the Economy," WIRTSCHAFTSRECHT 1/84, p 2; K.-D. Schwenk/E. Suess, "Concerning the Decree on Order and Delivery Terms," WIRTSCHAFTSRECHT, 2/84, p 32; H. Badestein, "The Annual Contract in the Rough Assortment--Legal Norm of

the Normative Contract Specification," WIRTSCHAFTSRECHT, 2/85,
p 40.

5. Will be published in VERFUEGUNGEN UND MITTEILUNGEN/
STAATSVETRAGSGERICHT, No. 1/86.
6. Cf. Regulation of 30 October 1985 on the Ten-day Planning of
Selected State Plan Indicators (GESETZBLATT I, No. 28, p 320),
Article 4.
7. Will be published in VERFUEGUNGEN UND MITTEILUNGEN/
STAATSVETRAGSGERICHT, No. 1/86.
8. "From the Report of the Politburo to the Ninth SED Central
Committee Plenum; Rapporteur: Comrade Er ch Honecker," Berlin
1984, p 41 ff.
9. GESETZBLATT I, No. 32, p 362.
10. GESETZBLATT I, No. 29, p 326, especially Article 9.

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CSO: 2300/319

ECONOMICS

HUNGARY

EFFECT OF PRESENT TAX SYSTEM ON ECONOMY EXAMINED

Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 25 Jan 86 p 52, 54

[Article by Maria Petschnig: "Ace of Taxes"]

[Text] Our economic policy for the coming years will place a perceptibly greater emphasis on seeing that the population's income is put in the service of economic development. But it is by no means a matter of indifference how this is done, the author of the following article maintains, taking the position that a strong increase in the taxes of the population and assessments will have an inflationary effect under the present domestic conditions and will not help unconditionally in the modernization of the economy.

Among the financial resources of the Seventh 5-Year Plan the population's income is over valued to a considerable degree. There are four ways in which, in theory, the population's money can be used for the more intensive development of the economy. One is for economic management to increase the directly unpaid portion of the new values created by the workers, that is to say, to change the ratio of wages and social net income in favor of the latter. We are speaking, therefore, of money which the workers make but do not see in the pay envelope. In the second way, the already realized incomes are redistributed by raising prices and broadening commodity categories. The broadening of such categories will have the effect of eliminating or narrowing the scope of commodities or services which have been available up to now for free or at little cost. For example. recreation fees will be raised.

Thirdly, increased centralization of the population's income may be achieved by increasing direct state withdrawals. (Of course, a price increase also represents in part an income withdrawal, but indirectly with the help of prices.) These include the broadening of the scope of taxes, duties and fines, or an increase in charges.

Finally, the fourth variant builds on the fact that the population spends only a part of its income on consumption, and if stimulus is given to increasing the remaining portion, a surplus source is created for production. Stimulation of savings by the population may be accomplished by broadening the operational scope of private capital or by the introduction of new money saving constructs-bonds, certificates, shares, and so forth.

All of the aforementioned variants represent entirely different solutions, and every solution has its own characteristic function. The right of these functions to exist cannot be doubted, and all of them can be found in modern economies. However, when the economic managers want to increase the participation of the population's money holdings in the capital supply of the economy and seek possible ways to develop a new system, they must unconditionally weigh the question: The strengthening of which form or forms should we follow?

In making the choice, of course, various considerations must be taken into account. The most important is that unjustifiable social tensions should not be created and that the chosen form should be suitable to the price and wage relations as developed. (In the case of complex price, wage and tax reforms, of course, the area of mobility for economic policy is entirely different, but as of now these are not germane to Hungary.) The question of whether the solution is in harmony with the reform of the economic guidance system must also be considered. It is of particular importance that the economic policy measure to be taken respects the autonomy of individual decisions, and is suited to the population's opportunities for participation, and to a differentiated property situation. And not least of all, it should stimulate production to the extent possible and thus result in additional income. The question is how the aforementioned four ways of concentrating the population's income will meet the above-listed considerations.

In Hungary the state does not pay wages to cover manpower-as-commodity reproduction costs--living expenses, child rearing and training outlays--from newly created value, that is, these are centralized before becoming the population's income. There are no data in Hungary as to how high wages should be to cover all these outlays. It is certain, however, that the portion not paid out by the state--at unchanged or declining values--can be increased only if the wages paid are decreased. This cannot be considered as a course that should be followed. Therefore, centralization can be strengthened only in the event efficiency increases and there is a rise in new values. Its clear realization is difficult to picture, however, because incentive wages are necessary to increase efficiency.

The domestic consumer price and wage system developed in 1946 and still substantially in effect followed, among other things, the principle that the reproduction costs of manpower need not be paid fully in wages because the workers receive a part of the benefits and services for free or at reduced prices. It was in this way that free health care, low-fare transportation, and so forth became virtual entitlements. The increasing charges for services that were once free or half-free--for example, making cultural events a commodity--represents a broadening of the commodity relations, to be sure, but since it abandons the principle of price development one-sidedly, that is, only from the aspect of price, it leads to unjustified real-income and social tensions. We may evaluate in a similar way the continuing rapid rate of increase in consumer prices, without wage adjustments. According to experience, the transformation into income-creating savings of a budgetary increase in income achieved in this way has very little chance of success. (In using this form we must consider the announced anti-inflation policy of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.)

Direct payments by the population into the central budget represented only 2.9 percent of total state revenues in 1984, but their rate of increase between 1980-1984 was extremely noteworthy. The rate of increase in indirect (sales tax) and direct taxes on the population far exceeded the rate of increase both for enterprise payments and total revenue growth.

We are gradually becoming accustomed to having each new year bring new tax decrees. In addition to an increase in tax discipline, the number of withdrawals, over and above taxes, directed against the small entrepreneur sector are increasing according to the indications. Such measures stimulate and compel the rapid recovery of invested capital, and on the domestic market at present this can be most easily achieved through prices with a high profit content.

The increase in the tax and fee-payment obligations of small producers--as measured by experience--has evoked various reactions. One occurs when the small businessman does not reduce his activities but prepares a tax return that will put him into an acceptable tax bracket. In addition, in order to keep the usual income or income increase, he will use prices which will produce the increased tax or social security charge. According to observations the increase in state withdrawals arouses price-raising intentions, which in the absence of market limitations can become a reality because there is still no real competition between the private and state sectors or within the private sector. But if the charge that must be paid increases to such an extent that it cannot be shifted within the foreseeable future to the buyer or client, it has been our experience that the small entrepreneur often abandons his activity or returns the entrepreneurial license, pays no taxes or operates without a license.

Development of Central Budget Revenues, 1980-1984

	Billion forints		Percent 1984/1980
	1980	1984	
Payments by enterprises and cooperatives	242.2	294.9	121.8
Consumer sales tax	58.7	87.3	148.7
Population payments	10.7	16.8	157.0
Total revenues	447.5	572.9	128.0

In the end, therefore, it is the consumer who pays for increasing withdrawals either through price increases or greater supply tensions: the result is inflation or shortage; or over time, shortages and again inflation. To quote Balazs Hamori's play on words: a "scarce-flation" becomes characteristic.

Increased taxation on personal property also has the effect of raising the price level. It is a natural demand that the property owner should not want to make out badly in his ownership, and therefore he seeks to realize the rent on properties (for example, an apartment or recreational facility), or when he sells these properties he tries to go higher in the sale price.

Assessments (for example, public works developments, and more recently settlement developments) do not have a direct inflationary effect, but whoever has to pay is constrained to increase his income, for these sums were not built into the wages. And this can exert pressure on prices.

If the direct central payments, that is, taxes and assessments, are increased, this means a lower consumer price rise for the Seventh 5-Year Plan than in previous years, but the charges to the population do not decline. The change amounts to this: as long as inflation--on the basis of consumption--has a more or less general effect, the direct withdrawals are personal. As is evident, however, the final effect in this case, too, is felt by the whole of society as mediated by those directly named.

With the increased concentration of the population's money, the budgetary system is strengthened and this conserves the production mode and structure as it has developed. Only that mode of income circulation is capable of the quality renewal of production and management for which the population volunteers, or is in some way interested in the strongest possible recovery of its money. This form, which comes about on a voluntary basis, is capable of expressing the interest of the financing and financed material interests, and promotes the development of capital relations organized on the basis of efficiency. The dynamic ideas for the coming years require significant central resources. It is to be feared, however, that in drawing the population's incomes into production, emphasis will be placed on forms that show immediate results, not on those which express the income interest of the population or production interests and signify long-term solutions.

6691/12913
CSO: 2500/239

ECONOMY

POLAND

MINISTER WOJCIK REPORTS ON FOREIGN TRADE SITUATION

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Apr 86 pp 1, 2

[Report by Tomasz Bartoszewicz on press conference held by Minister of Foreign Trade Andrzej Wojcik]

[Text] Stereotypes on the role and function of foreign trade in the national economy are still held in society. It is generally believed that only surpluses should be exported, otherwise the marketplace is being depleted. The belief that foreign trade contributes to import and inflation also prevails.

All of this reinforces autarchic tendencies and anti-export moods. It was with these assertions that Andrzej Wojcik, minister of foreign trade, opened a press conference in the Government Press Office. He reminded that Poland plays a very small part in international trade and all indexes dealing with this subject put us close to the bottom of the list in Europe.

It is true that during implementation of the 3-year plan the growth rate of export (5.5 percent a year) slightly exceeded the growth rate of national income (4.9 percent), but this difference is still absolutely too small. It is envisaged that during the next 5 years export will grow an average of at least 5.1 percent annually, with a planned 3 to 3.5 percent growth of national income.

Minister Wojcik then discussed the first quarter figures in foreign trade. Fulfillment of the National Annual Plan is much further along than a year ago. But consideration should be given to the fact that poor implementation of the plan during the first quarter of 1985 was the result of extremely bad weather conditions last year. All in all, it appears that the assumptions of this year's plan may be fully implemented. But this will require greater effort on the part of producers of goods for export and on the part of the trade apparatus.

In talking about the draft National Socioeconomic Plan for 1986-1990, examined recently by the Council of Ministers, Minister Wojcik said that the plan provides for the allocation of up to 20 percent of export receipts (in export to the second payments area [capitalist countries]) for debt-servicing. It is also envisaged that in turnovers with states with whom we settle our accounts

in free foreign exchange, import will grow somewhat more rapidly (3.8 percent a year) than export (3.5 percent). Thus a relatively modest growth of export to the second payments area is assumed. This is due to the lack of sufficient supplies of goods for export, especially if we consider that we cannot count on any kind of growth in sales of raw materials and fuels.

In this situation, future growth of export is dependent primarily on investment policy. The minister of foreign trade intends to take greater measures to restructure the economy. We expect that in several weeks a decision will be made to form an Export Development Bank, which will concern itself with financing pro-export investments. An expert consulting enterprise will also be formed under the Ministry of Foreign Trade to evaluate various investment projects, including joint ventures using foreign capital.

Much more can be done in the export of services. As Minister Wojcik said, world turnovers of services amount to \$700 billion. Poland has a very minimal share in these turnovers. Because of this, the Ministry of Foreign Trade has recently taken steps to stimulate the export of services.

Replying to journalists' questions, the minister announced that by the end of the second quarter, normal service for import financed from foreign exchange allowances, will be restored. The delays which occurred in this area were caused by the country's payments difficulties at the beginning of the year.

A RZECZPOSPOLITA journalist asked a question pertaining to reform of the tariff system in the context of Poland's relations with GATT. In reply, Minister Wojcik said that reform is indispensable, just as is a change in the licensing policy (issuance of permits for the export and import of goods). The work in this area is to be comprehensive. It is envisaged also that presentation of our system of foreign trade in GATT will occur in connection with a new round of multilateral trade negotiations which will soon take place.

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CSO: 2600/368

ECONOMY

POLAND

SZALAJDA DESCRIBES NEW AGREEMENTS WITH FRG

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Mar 86 p 5

[Interview with Vice Premier Zbigniew Szalajda by Tomasz Bartoszewicz: "A Step Toward Normalization"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] A few days ago, the 6th session of the Governmental Mixed Commission of the PPR and the FRG for Issues in the Development of Economic Cooperation took place in Bonn. A RZECZPOSPOLITA journalist asked Vice Premier Zbigniew Szalajda for an interview on the results of this session.

[Question] Mr. Premier, you were the joint chairman of the proceedings of the Mixed Commission. What is your assessment of the results of the meeting?

[Answer] My visit to Bonn was one of the major elements in the dialogue between our states. I can state that in the sphere of economic relations, a climate has arisen that favors negotiating on concrete proposals for cooperation. As I emphasized in the talks with our partners, the basis for the development of our economy is cooperation with the USSR and the rest of the CEMA member states. It has permitted a gradual normalization of the economic situation in our country and a restoration of equilibrium. This in turn strengthens our economic attractiveness to Western states as an economic partner. There has been a marked favorable evolution of our economic cooperation with these states, including the FRG, which is the subject of our conversation today.

[Question] What specifically was established during the session of the Mixed Commission?

[Answer] The key topic in the talks was the issue of normalizing financial-credit relations between the PPR and the FRG, and on that basis, the development of concrete economic cooperation, including particularly cooperation between the enterprises of both countries. A fundamental element is the acknowledgement by the FRG that Poland is meeting its obligations. As a result, the FRG government stated that it would renew credit guarantees for the amount of DM 100 million.

[Question] That is not much...

[Answer] Essentially, that amount is not large in comparison with our import needs. The protocol from the meeting of the Mixed Commission, however, says that in light of the future development of economic relations between the PPR and the FRG, the ceiling for credits granted could be raised.

[Question] Then the credit for the amount of DM 100 million should be treated only as an opening?

[Answer] Yes. This is after all clear from the statement by the FRG joint chairman of the Mixed Commission, Minister M. Bangemann. He said that the credit guarantees were proof of confidence in progress in normalizing the socioeconomic situation in our country, and that they should be, as he put it, a "signal" for other Western states.

[Question] Obtaining credits abroad is received by public opinion with mixed feelings. After all, our debt is enormous even without this...

[Answer] We can only repay our debt through exports. On the other hand, in order to increase exports, we must increase investment imports. The state of the raw materials and fuels base in our country is such that during the current 5-year period we are not planning on additional exports of fuels and raw materials. It is thus necessary to concentrate our efforts on exporting manufactured goods. In order to accomplish this, we must conduct a fundamental modernization of our industry. Such a modernization, in turn, requires imports of modern machinery, equipment, and technological solutions. In the final analysis, however, we are obtaining additional exports, and this will serve both the interests of our national economy and of our creditors.

[Question] Will the credit that you mentioned be used for this purpose?

[Answer] Back during my previous visit to the FRG in June 1985, I had the opportunity to conduct talks with the management of leading concerns in that country, such as Krupp, Thyssen, Mannesmann, Kloeckner, Siemens, and Uhde. During the talks, we agreed at that time on a rich range of cooperation -- several dozen undertakings, in whose realization we are jointly interested. Our enterprises subsequently conducted detailed technical and commercial negotiations with the FRG firms in regard to all of these undertakings, which include such areas as the chemical, machinery, and agricultural-food industries (including, among other things, freezers, oil mills, and margarine production lines). I was able to state this personally during talks with representatives of the management of the concerns involved (Krupp, Salzgitter, BASF, and Kloeckner) after the end of the meeting of the Mixed Commission. Several agreements have already been concluded on the basis of so-called commercial credits. The realization of some of the undertakings, however, has been hampered so far by the lack of credit guarantees.

[Question] What do we intend to purchase in the FRG with the guaranteed credit?

[Answer] Appropriate decisions will be made on this issue, taking into account the proposals of our industry and the proposals of the FRG concerns regarding cooperation in the area of concrete modernization and pro-export undertakings, carried out in accordance with the principle of buying technology and equipment on credit, and repaying the credit through deliveries of products from those plants.

[Question] Was there also a discussion during the session of the Mixed Commission of possible participation by FRG firms in enterprises located in Poland?

[Answer] We informed the FRG side about the draft law on companies with foreign participation that is currently being reviewed by the Sejm. This topic aroused a great deal of interest on the part of our partners, who are waiting for the final form of the legal solutions.

[Question] To sum up our conversation, is it your opinion that the 6th session of the Mixed Commission and the talks that you conducted with representatives of political and economic circles in the FRG contributed to the normalization of relations between Poland and the FRG?

[Answer] We want to develop relations with the FRG on the basis of the December 1970 treaty. I discussed this during talks with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher, Minister of Economy Martin Bangemann, and also representatives of economic circles. I think that at present the conditions have arisen for improving and expanding these relations. The impasse in the financial-credit area has been overcome. Minister M. Bangemann confirmed this in his statement at the press conference, when he said that the possibility of granting a guaranteed credit is an expression of the FRG government's confidence in the socioeconomic situation in our country and the prospects for the development of the Polish economy.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2600/337

ECONOMY

POLAND

ECONOMISTS REACT TO PARTY PROGRAM DRAFT

Essential Economic Tasks Highlighted

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Prof Zdzislaw Sadowski, president of the Polish Economic Society: "We Can Manage More Efficiently"; first paragraph is TRYBUNA LUDU introduction]

[Text] Among the economists, too, discussions are taking place on the PZPR draft program. The representatives of science say that the economy can be improved only if the present obstacles are removed.

In the PZPR draft program, in accordance with the Ninth Congress resolution, great importance is attached to socializing the planning process and strengthening the independence of enterprises free of bureaucratic restrictions and subject to the dictates of economic realities.

The decided continuation of economic reform is a particularly important matter. We cannot regard reform as one of many tasks which must be accomplished. Reform is the basis for all further transformations. It is a change in the logic of economic operations. We must ask ourselves: Where are we and what must we do to move forward rapidly? How do we reconcile the striving to improve management efficiency with social justice?

In the last few years we have made many basic legal and institutional changes, but unfortunately conditions which would allow us to make full use of these changes are still not present. In our economic practice, methods of operation corresponding to the new rules are accepted very reluctantly. And it is this reluctance which I believe to be the greatest threat. We must quickly apply self-regulating mechanisms which would lead in a short time to more efficient utilization of the labor force, better utilization of raw and other materials, and improvement in effectiveness of investments.

In our economy we often have negative feedback, which must be eliminated. For example, low work productivity and quality results in lack of consumer goods, and this in turn makes it difficult to create the incentive to do better work. The creation of a system of prices which will ensure profitable production without subsidies, the establishment of proper wage ratios, and protection of

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the economy against the damaging influence of monopolistic arrangements--these are the most important matters which the party and the government must deal with in removing obstacles in the path of a more efficient management system.

Institute Director Voices Criticism

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Prof Witold Andruszkiewicz, director of the Maritime Institute Ports Authority in Gdansk]

[Text] The draft program is very comprehensive, but in my opinion it has certain shortcomings. The party's support for economic reform is not emphasized sufficiently, and after all, reform is often hampered in exactly those areas in which the authorities have control. I am referring primarily to the necessity of not permitting a reduction of enterprises' independence by parent agencies and intermediate economic organizations.

Nor does the draft contain crucial information on further development, e.g., a statement as to what we shall concentrate investment outlays on. Forthright proposals are also lacking on the recovery of the consumer-goods market, a clear indication as to when and in which areas we can expect an improvement.

It seems to me that the party should more strongly stress the importance of the maritime ports in the development of foreign trade and efficient management, including transport, which, after all, connects the sea to the rest of the country. For example, I cannot understand why enterprises which use raw materials imported by way of the sea and produce goods transported abroad in the same way, are not located on the coast. Why is crude oil and its products transported throughout the entire coast in tank-cars and trucks and not in small tanker-vessels in coastal traffic? In such an important document as the party's program these matters should be given the importance due them.

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CSO: 2600/368

ECONOMY

POLAND

TRADE RELATIONS WITH IRAQ VIEWED

Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in Polish No 5-6, 11 and 14 Jan 86 p 16

[Article by Hanna Dziarska: "Our Business in Iraq"]

[Excerpts] The Future Depends on Crude Oil

Like other exports, Poland, for which Iraq is the most important trading partner among the developing countries, has encountered a problem -- how to maintain itself in the market at this difficult time, especially since this is associated with the need to grant credits. Everyone is aware that after the war ends, investments will proceed on a large scale, and exports of crude oil will solve the financial difficulties.

Polish enterprises have accumulated machines and technical equipment worth more than \$100 million. This is thus a large amount of capital, which has only been partially expended, and which can also be used in the future. Admittedly, only a few of the largest contracts have already been completed -- Polimex's 3 cellular concrete factories in Baghdad, Basrah, and Kerbala, worth \$98 million, calcium plants in Kerbala, worth 142 million Swiss francs, 8 poultry farms worth \$75 million (in a consortium with the West German firm Protinas), the electrification of 6 Baghdad districts, an Elektrim contract worth DM 77.5 million -- but another \$300 million remains to be carried out for 1985-1986 under construction-investment contracts already realized. Among the largest are the construction by Dromex of a highway (a total value of \$310 million) and Budimex's Abu Ghraib land reclamation contract (\$100 million).

The lack of new large orders has been expressed through a decline every year in Polish exports; this is also a typical phenomenon for other capitalist and socialist countries involved in this market. This trend will also continue in the near future. In 1984 Polish exports to Iraq amounted to \$316.6 million, and were 13.2 percent lower than in 1983. For 1985, on the other hand, a further decline of about 18.5 percent has been assumed.

Necessary to Overcome Difficulties

How, then, should one act under present conditions in order to maintain and improve our position in the market? All the recommendations for improving the effectiveness of active contracts and accelerating the rate of the liquidation

of completed ones are relevant -- and not just starting today. A great deal could be said about the difficulties that arise on the side of the Iraqi partner. It is sufficient, however, to recall the new customs law, in effect since 1984, which in addition to introducing many limitations and restrictions, prevents the transfer of equipment between contractors of different firms, and also hampers its transfer between the construction sites of the same exporter. There thus remains, where there are no other solutions (i.e. unprofitable export to Poland), transfer to the Iraqi client, or scrapping. Customs issues are only one problem for the activity of every exporter, although an extremely essential one.

The settlement of contracts is also extremely complicated. It often lasts for years, increasing costs and preventing the receipt of large guarantee sums, which are only released after the entire procedure is finalized. The reason for these delays is the rigid requirements of the local regulations and precise adherence to them, but also, unfortunately, in many cases negligence on the Polish side.

Indirect Exports

Contracts in which we act as subcontractors of Western firms are favorably viewed. A great deal of installation work has been carried out by Polimex-Cekop, electrical work by Elektrim, and construction work by Budimex, while receiving good evaluations from the contractors. Going into another organizational system, adapting oneself to its quality and timeliness requirements, and accounting for every section completed, stimulate and compel fulfillment of the tasks undertaken. Otherwise, there are clauses in the contracts that deal with the possibility of engaging a different subcontractor, at the expense of the previous one, in order to maintain deadlines, quality, etc. No one needs to be persuaded how painful this step would be.

Sales of Individual Machines

The next issue is intensifying exports of individual machines and equipment, which are characterized by considerably greater economic effectiveness than exports of complete installations. Polish power stations and high-tension lines, pumping stations and water purification stations, railcars and railroad rolling stock, construction, road, and earthmoving machines, equipment for the textile industry, helicopters, machine tools, and engines are well known in the Iraqi market. Our list of goods also includes cables, rolled products, chemicals, textiles, clothing, and household articles.

Many items in the assortment traditionally delivered in past years currently do not have any chance of a profit, in connection with major restrictions on imports and the suspension of many investments, and the requirements for financing. Still under way, however, are deliveries of spare parts for previously exported machinery and equipment, and also the performance of installation and maintenance services. There is also a possibility of cooperation with the private sector, to the extent that it can obtain import licenses, and thus it is necessary to keep our finger on the pulse by engaging in active promotion.

Services Good for Everything

Services sell best, and exports of labor are also useful -- both for Western firms and for local ones. Only professionals hired for yearly or monthly periods are sent; there are no longer problems with shipping equipment and materials, transportation, and organizing the construction site, and sometimes the only thing left is the necessity of housing and bringing people to work. Among others, Budimex currently has service contracts in that market -- the so-called 100 engineers (supervision of the installation of the water pipe network in Baghdad, and servicing of the water purification station), servicing of the steel plant in Basra, and operation of the cement plant in Kirkuk.

The comprehensive operation of plants, however, is something more than the work of individual people. A concept of labor organization that ensures obtaining the desired production results is also being sold there, and Iraqi engineering and technical personnel are being trained. On occasion, new technological solutions, the work of the leading world firms, are learned.

The exportation of services is the domain of Polservis, which occupies a very good position among the Polish foreign trade units in the Iraqi market. Employing about 1,300 people, it is carrying out many contracts, which differ a great deal in value, maintaining a continuing trend of increasing exports, and at the same time increasing its share in services provided to Western firms (about 25 percent). It also employs over 100 individual specialists, who are experts in Iraqi institutions and scientific establishments, or Western firms. Unfortunately, new regulations governing the employment of these specialists, which have been in effect since 1984, considerably limit the possibilities of their working abroad, and may interfere with the development of these exports in the future.

Getting staff for contracts is a sore point for many enterprises. After all, it is known that time counts in trade. When professionals are needed almost immediately, the bureaucratic procedure of selection, qualification, and arrangement of the formalities sometimes ruins our chance for the contract. It also happens that instead of the specialist required, a professional from a completely different branch comes, without any knowledge of the language -- someone's cousin or acquaintance. He will certainly come in useful for something or learn something at the Polish construction site, but with the foreign client there is no chance, and our reputation suffers from this.

We have been talking the whole time about exports. The question thus arises of what the other side of the balance of trade is. Oil, obviously. We do not import the goods that other countries buy in Iraq: dates and date products, licorice roots, leather, fertilizers, and sulphur. On the other hand, we imported about 150,000 tons of crude oil in 1984. Steps are under way to link payment for our exports directly to deliveries of oil. Today these possibilities are considerably limited, but when the war ends...?

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CSO: 2600/258

ECONOMY

POLAND

PRIVATE MEAT SALE 'EXPERIMENT' APPRAISED IN CATHOLIC PRESS

Krakow TYGODNIK PONSZECHNY in Polish No 4, 26 Jan 86 p 8

[Article by Ernest Skalski: "Experiment"]

[Text] On New Year's Day, an experiment went into effect, which consists of pig breeders in the Warsaw, Leszno, and Tarnobrzeg provinces being able to sell their farm-slaughtered pork in markets for half a year at prices reached in agreement with the buyers.

Having one person give something to another person for money has already been experimented with by the ancient Phoenicians, with good results. This, however, does not completely discredit the scientific role of the above-mentioned experiment, since in comparison with the Phoenician standard it contains numerous new elements, such as limitation in time (the half year), in area (a farmer near Wyszkiw does not sell his pork in the capital), in those involved (the breeder himself can only trade with an individual customer), and in the object (he can only trade in the meat, and not meat products).

This innovation allows drawing certain practical conclusions at once. Thus, on the basis of this experiment, it will not pay anyone to invest in the development of livestock breeding or means of transportation, and in the improvement of trading conditions. The experiment will not have the characteristics of laboratory cleanness, since inasmuch as today the illegal trade in meat is practically uncontrollable, this is all the more reason why a farmer near Wyszkiw will not let himself be punished for what is done legally by his neighbor near Radzymin, i.e., selling meat in Warsaw. The elimination of intermediaries and processors will result in their acting illegally, or in most of the transactions continuing to take place at the farms, to which customers with cars travel, and not in the markets, to which it will not pay the breeder to come with one pig. And finally, if everything were to be legal, then the customer of a pub will have to come to it with a piece of a raw joint bought in the market, since the restaurateur will not have the right to purchase it.

It is difficult to believe that the creators of the experiment did not foresee these consequences of it, but they are primarily concerned -- as has been

officially stated -- with determining whether this (apparently) free trade is a threat to state purchasing centers and coupon rationing. Purchasing centers are not attractive to breeders. They pay low prices, and offer a ration for fodder components, which the farmers do not care about, and for coal, which they do care about, but which is difficult to obtain with these rations. Furthermore, the purchasing centers mean arranging one's own transportation, standing in lines, quarreling, and paying bribes. This unattractiveness of the purchasing centers was supposed to be compensated for by its monopoly, but it turned out that it was ineffective, since less than half of the pigs reached them, while most of them ended their lives being farm-slaughtered, very broadly understood.

From the state purchasing centers, the livestock make their way to the state meat industry, 22 units of which are included in the list of the 500 largest enterprises that was prepared by the monthly ZARZADZANIE, while 18 of them are in the top 100. These 22 units includes potentates with fixed assets worth over 10 billion zlotys; all together they have funds amounting to nearly 123 billion zlotys and employ 82,000 people. In 1984, the state paid this business the amount of 39.4 billion zlotys in the form of subsidies. Meanwhile the entire meat industry, including the plants that did not make the list of 500, employed 95,000 people and absorbed about 60 billion zlotys in subsidies. The state budget deficit -- one of the major factors stimulating inflation -- amounted to 68 billion zlotys during the same year, 1984. The abolition of this subsidies would virtually allow balancing the budget. We do not know how large the meat subsidies will be during the current year (1986), but they will certainly figure in a deficit exceeding 150 billion.

The arguments for subsidies and against them have already been presented many times, and the way to eliminate them appears to be raising retail prices, which in turn has been an unchanging source of social and political tensions for many years. The fact remains, however, at home the peasants have sold pork by the cut illegally for 350-400 zlotys, and thus, on the average, at shop prices (more for bacon, and even less for pork joints and ham). Admittedly, the costs of transportation and the market are borne by the buyer, but in addition this price has included the costs of breeding, slaughtering, and division (mostly taken care of by a local professional), and the large profit of the producer. (----) (The 31 July 1981 law On the Control of Publications and Shows, article 2, paragraphs 2 and 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW no. 20, item 99; changed in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW no. 44, item 204)).

But now let us imagine that we are not experimenting in three provinces, but in all 49. Then, in all likelihood, the purchasing centers will not break down, or in any case not immediately, even though the advantage of free sale over the purchasing centers for the producer is evident. If he gets something like 16-18 thousand per carcass at the purchasing center, he will receive at least 9 thousand more privately for the meat alone, and he will still have the hide, bristles, and other items. This free trade, however, has a very limited capacity. A peasant can only occasionally permit himself to kill a pig, and especially to travel to the city and stand in the market, with the risk that he will not sell everything or that he will have to drop his price. These 10 or 20 thousand per head a couple of times a year are still not an amount that will change anything in the economy. And, most importantly, if a great run on

the markets does begin, then after all the price in them will be reduced and the profitability of this undertaking will turn out to be even more problematical, and its advantage over the purchasing center will decline.

Let us imagine, however, that in our experiment we go to extremes, and as a result of this it ceases to be an experiment and becomes a constant and permanent element. (----) (the 31 July 1981 law On the Control of Publications and Shows, article 2, paragraphs 2 and 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW no. 20, item 99, changed in the 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW, no. 44, item 204)). Article 68 of the Constitution, which guarantees the right to work, and article 19, which says that work is a right, an obligation, and a matter of honor, should only be interpreted as dealing not only with employment in a job established by the socialized economy, but at least to the same extent in a shop created by oneself. On the other hand, articles 17 and 18, which deal with the protection of private and personal property, of course including money, should perhaps be understood as, among other things, the possibility of exchanging it, on the basis of general, constant, and universally accepted legal regulations, which in this case would mainly mean sanitary inspection.

If those concerned believed that their activity in the area of livestock breeding, processing, and trade, ensuring them the basic means of existence, would at most be governed by the changing market, and not by the changing decisions of the administrative authorities, then it would be relatively easy to predict the further course of the experiment, on the basis of rather numerous precedents.

Seeing a continuing profit at a profitable price, the breeders will think about setting up new pigsties, and will look for efficient and productive equipment for them, in order to cope with the increased tasks. They will also do something to obtain more fodder from their farms, or will buy it from those specializing in this field, since it would also be an opportunity for them. A serious breeder will not engage in amateur pig slaughtering on his farm, or stand in the market. Butchers and pork butchers would certainly appear with their own shops, along with sellers, who would show a profit from investing in slaughterhouses. The former or the latter, or still others, would see to the means of transportation, and somehow this interest would operate in accordance with the patterns proven by the centuries.

In the sphere of processing and trade, there could be individual entrepreneurs, companies, or cooperatives, of breeders or consumers, or ones specializing only in this area: everyone who sees this as an opportunity for himself and who has the corresponding funds. In view of the length of the so-called pig cycle, the small scale, and the limited capital-intensiveness of these investments, and the fairly certain profit, one could assume that in two or three years there would be a fairly efficient structure in operation, consisting of small breeding, processing, and trading establishments, provided that not too many obstacles are put in the way of this. It is difficult to determine the extent of the demand in advance, but it would be considerable and would probably satisfy the needs of the market at more or less the coupon price.

The last point is not just a pious wish, but should result from the situation in the market, in which innumerable thousands of suppliers would be active, naturally without being able to monopolize prices and raise them so that the customers will make up for their investments indefinitely. In the market system, an investment must above all fit into the sales price of the product, which is dictated by the market, and it should facilitate lowering costs and obtaining a larger profit, since progress is not something that should cost, but something that should result in earnings. This is rather elementary, but it seems that we no longer remember this.

For let us recall that currently a breeder operating on a minimal scale and with primitive equipment achieves a high rate of profit, receiving more or less the coupon price. If so much more has to be paid in addition to this price for meat sold for coupons, this subsidy is not socially justified by the additional payment for consumption (----) (the 31 July 1981 law On the Control of Publications and Shows, article 2, paragraphs 2 and 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW no. 20, item 99, changed in the 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW no. 44, item 204)). We should therefore watch with calm and even satisfaction how the developing free trade and such breeders will gradually take over the goods from the inefficient purchasing centers, the industry characterized by shortages, and inefficient trade. As a socialized co-owner of this second-rate business, I would rather close it down than continue to put money into it. In order to eliminate upheavals, however, and to avoid drawing out the agony, on the other, it could be agreed that the subsidy would be reduced by one third each year. Statistically speaking, it could be assumed that a large number of the state enterprises, if left to sink or swim, would somehow manage: reduce costs, use the equipment they possess, conclude suitable cooperation contracts, etc. Others will luckily go bankrupt, and their assets and staff will be taken over by the growing cooperative and private units, companies, or other state plants. This, however, will be a matter for the managers or self-management bodies at these plants, and not for the state administration, for which sanitary supervision and the collection of data will remain.

On the other hand, the problem of meat coupons will become irrelevant in the course of this operation, if a sufficient amount of meat is available for purchase at approximately the same price enough of the time.

All of this almost seems a revolution, not an experiment, and one would be afraid to propose something like this, if it were not for the fact that a model similar to the one proposed has been functioning peacefully for a few years in a related area: vegetables, fruit, and flowers. Those who can farm do so, and those who can manage, trade: all three sectors, and perhaps no one will lose out. The most important thing is that as a rule all the products that there are supposed to be are available for purchase for the entire year, including inspected ones and in part frozen ones. It is not the ideal situation, but in comparison with all the other areas of supply it can be considered to be. The crisis has not led to shortages here, and has instead made trade more efficient, since those leaving the socialized economy established many trade shops. The products in this trade perhaps even become relatively cheaper. During the seven years of the crisis, the average nominal wages grew over four times, the price of bread over six times, the price of ordinary sausage by the same amount, and sugar over eight times, while the price of potatoes grew four times, and the price of apples more or less three times.

And who is inconvenienced by such an experiment?

ECONOMY

POLAND

STATISTICAL YEARBOOK CHANGES PROPOSED

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 10, 9 Mar 86 p 11

[Article by M.: "What Kind of Statistical Yearbook, and For Whom?"]

[Text] This publication is highly valued in Poland and abroad, but it is not free of criticism. The average reader of statistical yearbooks is often puzzled about the comparability of the data. He finds a multitude of numbers in the yearbooks, but he frequently cannot find the one he is looking for. Most of the criticisms of this publication come from professionals. One could perhaps have been persuaded of this at the last meeting of the Statistical Scientific Council, at which there was a discussion of the "Yearbook." The basis of the discussion was the extensive study by Dr. Andrzej Karpinski entitled "Assessment of the 1984 Statistical Yearbook."

[Question] What kind of reader should the editors of this publication adjust to?

[Answer] It should be useful -- these are the assumptions -- for both the average user and for professionals. It should serve as a source of basic information for specialists, and at the same time perform the function of a scientific aid in the educational system and higher schools. How can these functions be reconciled? But additional requirements are presented -- that the statistical yearbooks be useful in planning, that they provide enterprises with information about their environment, and, finally, that they provide data to the regional bodies about the so-called regional profiles.

It is not possible for one GUS [Main Statistical Office] publication to perform too many functions well. Most of the participants in the above-mentioned discussion supported limited presentation in the yearbooks of the so-called regional profiles. Prof Miroslaw Opallo, however, had a different view. In his opinion, the statistical yearbooks should also be very useful in planning work, and also cover local (regional) profiles more extensively.

[Question] What problems should be presented more extensively in the yearbooks?

[Answer] It has been proposed that there be a more extensive presentation of data describing the level of the social productivity of labor in Poland

compared to other countries, including CEMA. Many of the participants in the discussion spoke in favor of the need to expand the international part of the yearbooks. This would obviously require not only changes in the editorial board of the yearbooks, but also, above all, a corresponding orientation of the work, research, and other publications of the GUS. The calls for expanding the presentation of data on the import-intensiveness, materials-intensiveness, and energy-intensiveness of the economy were similar in nature. Also advocated was a broader presentation of data on the cost of living and the population's living conditions. Among other things, it was proposed that the research on living conditions research on the time spent waiting for a car, an apartment, a telephone, a train, a divorce, etc. (a proposal by Prof. Andrzej Tymowski).

Also advocated was a more extensive presentation by the yearbooks of data on the level and growth rate of the cost of living in other countries. The calls for expanding the international comparisons also applied to the basic aggregate economic categories: total production and national income. In order to expand the possibilities for comparisons of national income in Poland and in the capitalist countries, it should be calculated what Poland's national income would be like if it were to include nonmaterial services. Many comments were made about the prices used to calculate these aggregate amounts. Calculating the total product in constant prices would make it possible to assess the influence of material costs on the national income. In general, prices and their influence on individual figures presents in the yearbooks are a particularly important problem. It would be useful to include in the presentation a balance of changes in prices, which would take into account their changes in all socioeconomic sectors.

Other Proposals

It was proposed that the so-called sector-branch profiles not be expanded in the yearbooks. On the other hand, there should be more information about economic profiles: what part of production is allocated for exports, for consumption, material-technical supply, and investments. Information on foreign debt should be expanded. It was proposed that the level of debt and changes in it be presented in different currencies, depending on the currencies in which we are indebted. This would allow a better awareness of changes in debt associated with changes in the exchange rates for foreign currencies. It was proposed that the statistics on the housing economy present data not only on the average number of residents per room (or per apartment), but also on the level and on changes in the structure of this index (the number of residents per room or given area in the most and least crowded apartments).

There were also many other more detailed requests presented. The chairman of the Statistical Scientific Council, Prof Igor Timofiejuk, proposed while summarizing this discussion that it be continued by specialized groups in order to specify further and define more precisely the means of adopting the requests presented.

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CSO: 2600/337

ECONOMY

POLAND

POLONIA FIRMS IN SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRY DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 11, 16 Mar 86 p 11

[Article by U.Z.: "With Foreign Capital"]

[Text] As it appears from a report by the Polish-Polonian Industrial-Trade Chamber, "Inter-Polcom," about 700 foreign small-scale manufacturing firms are currently operating in Poland. The first three appeared in 1977, in 1981 there were already 78, in 1982 259, in 1983 491, and at the end of 1984, 633. At the end of 1984 and the beginning of 1985, the rate of the increase in the number of these enterprises slowed, which is considered to be a result of a more critical attitude toward applications for the issue of permits to found an enterprise, and increased requirements for the initiators (among other things, an increase in the value of the foreign exchange investment contribution).

Most of the enterprises, over 60 percent of them, are concentrated in seven provinces: Warsaw, Poznan, Lodz, Krakow, Katowice, Gdansk, and Skierniewice. The total turnover of the foreign small-scale manufacturing enterprises was 0.4 percent of the turnover of the economy as a whole in 1984, and 9.8 percent of the turnover in small-scale manufacturing. In 1984 the total value of the turnover was 73.8 billion zloty, and in the first half of 1985, 50.6 billion zloty. Employment in the foreign enterprises grew from 12.2 thousand people in 1982 to 42.6 thousand in 1984, and at the end of last year it was close to the level of 48 thousand. The amount of production per employee in the enterprises that have reached full operation currently amounts to about 2.5 million zloty, and the average pay (in the first half of last year) is 23 thousand zloty. In the structure of the turnover of these enterprises, the chief place is occupied by consumer products (especially clothing, chemical, leather, and food products), which provide about 70 percent of the turnover, followed by products and services of a non-consumer nature (over 20 percent), while about 4 percent of the turnover is currently represented by exports.

The amendment to the law regulating the operation of firms with foreign capital in Poland, which was made in July 1983, made a 3-year exemption from income tax for new firms conditional upon an obligation to invest at least a third of the profits; it is felt that this yielded positive results. At the same time, however, it introduced the obligation to resell 50 percent of the net earnings from exports to the state treasury. This, meanwhile, caused a

stagnation in exports, following a period of rapid growth during the years 1982-1984.

In 1984, foreign small-scale manufacturing enterprises invested 5.6 billion zloty, or \$6.8 billion, in Poland (1.5 billion zloty in 1982, and 3.5 billion zloty in 1983). Exports to the countries in payments area II grew from \$8.3 million in 1982 to \$23 million in 1984, but their share in total turnover declined from 4.4 percent in 1982 to 3.9 percent in 1984. In the first half of last year, exports amounted to \$10.5 billion, and it is estimated that their value for that year will not exceed \$25 million. The previous growth rate for these exports is thus decreasing significantly, and their share in total turnover is declining even more. Similar trends also affect exports to the socialist countries. In 1983 they amounted to 1.4 million rubles, in 1984 12.3 million rubles, and in the first half of 1985, 5.4 million rubles. The exports of foreign small-scale manufacturing enterprises are dominated by food products and wood products; recently there has also been an increase in the proportion of commodities for export in clothing, knitted goods, and fur goods. Currently about 40 percent of the foreign firms operating in Poland are exporting.

An increase in the requirements set for the initiators of foreign small-scale manufacturing enterprises was also introduced by the next amendment to the regulations governing this issue, on 31 January 1985. The amount of the founding deposit was raised to \$50,000, and the minimum investment contribution was also raised to \$50,000. The purpose of this was to limit the influx of speculative capital, and to attract serious businessmen. In the opinion of "Inter-Polcom," these regulations have demonstrated their effectiveness and suitability. Admittedly, the influx of new capital is small, but the capital currently invested in Poland is considered to be solid and reliable. Many investments have reached a value of over \$200,000, and they include branches such as the production of high-quality medical equipment, environmental protection, and electronics.

During the period of the greatest market difficulties, the foreign enterprises concentrated on the production of consumer goods. Back in 1984, of the 633 enterprises in operation, 199 engaged in the production of clothing, 145 produced chemical products, 85 produced leather goods, and 80 produced articles made of wood. The ratio between consumer and supply production in this group of enterprises is still 7:1. Consequently, efforts are currently being made, also within the framework of "Inter-Polcom," to change this ratio in favor of supply production. This primarily has to do with production for health care and agriculture, the use of scrap raw materials, the production of energy-conserving equipment, anti-import production, and also export production with high effectiveness and a high degree of processing.

Foreign enterprises have purchased and are using 12 foreign licenses and 18 Polish patents not previously used, and they have registered 14 patents of their own. They are also using many foreign formulas and technologies. Currently 17 enterprises are producing medical supplies, 32 firms are involved in electronics, cooperating mainly with plants in the key industry, and 80 enterprises are active in construction.

Most of the firms are enterprises employing up to 200 people. There are about 600 of them. Five enterprises employ 400-500 people, and three employ more than 500.

Since the emergence of the first foreign small-scale manufacturing enterprises, 30 owners have resigned from engaging in economic activity. These were mainly small enterprises employing 20-25 workers, with a small investment contribution. At the same time, operating permits have been withdrawn from 18 enterprises. The permits were withdrawn from the enterprises that violated the terms of their contracts, e.g. by engaging in production that exceeded the permit or ordering all of the production from subcontractors, as well as from those that violated Polish legal regulations.

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CSO: 2600/337

ECONOMY

POLAND

RULES FOR DETERMINING HIGH PRICE VIOLATIONS

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 10, 9 Mar 86 p 11

[Article by M. B.: "Flagrantly High Price"]

[Text] The minister of finance, in a 31 December 1985 decree, defined the rules for characterizing a price for goods produced by units of the socialized economy as flagrantly high. The price of a product is considered to be flagrantly high if it exceeds the price currently in use for the same product by 30 percent, or for a similar product, by 50 percent.

In case of doubts as to whether the product sold is the same or a similar one, or as to what the difference in quality is, an opinion is sought from the Polish Committee for Standardization, Measures, and Quality, or from organizational units authorized by the Committee. If the seller stands by the flagrantly high price, the minister of finance may issue a decision obligating him to reduce the price or to use the regulated price. The period during which this price is mandatory cannot be longer than a year.

The introduction of the concept of a flagrantly high price in the amended price law creates a possibility for administrative intervention in the event that a producer fundamentally abuses his privileges by setting a price at an excessively high level.

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CSO: 2600/337

ECONOMY

POLAND

SMALL-SCALE MANUFACTURING PROGRAM FOR 1986-1990 DRAFTED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] The need to increase small-scale manufacturing's share in domestic industry was observed as early as a couple of years ago. The joint position of the PZPR CC Politburo and the SD CC Presidium in December 1983 attests to this. Production figures in the past 3 years have even better than had been expected. Small-scale manufacturing's share in industry's overall production rose from 8.4 percent in 1982 to 11 percent in 1985. Sales increased by 44 percent (the National Socioeconomic Plan projected a 32.3 percent increase). Consumer goods deliveries rose 21 percent, calculated in 1982 prices. But in citing these optimistic figures we should not ignore the negative aspects--the stagnation in services and minimal export, amounting to only 4 percent of the value of production and services.

Now, when work is underway on a new long-term plan, small-scale producers have an opportunity to make a greater contribution to the national economy. But in order to do this, a course of action must be developed. A draft program covering the years 1986-1990 has been prepared by the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services. This program was discussed at the first meeting this term (9 April) of the Small-Scale Manufacturing Council, which reports to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. The meeting was attended by Jozef Koziol, who reported that Prof Edward Kowalczyk has resigned as council chairman. Professor Kowalczyk was given a letter from the premier thanking him for his work on the council. The premier then entrusted the chairmanship of the Small-Scale Manufacturing Council to Prof Marian Struzycki, well known for his civic and cooperative activities.

Minister Jerzy Jozwiak presented the second version of the draft program for the development of small-scale manufacturing. In this document it is envisaged that socialized small-scale manufacturing will increase its production 58.6 percent during the current 5-year plan, which is more than twice the growth that was projected in the draft of the 5-year plan. However, crafts should increase turnovers 46 percent in 5 years. All in all, towards the end of the 5-year period small scale manufacturers should produce 15 percent of everything that industry, as a whole, produces.

The program's authors, bearing in mind the shortage of labor, are counting on the smaller communities to become more active--the towns and villages. The

authors also considered the raw-materials shortages, counting primarily on those sectors where raw materials are not an obstacle, e.g., the mining and food industries. The economic and financial details still remain to be worked out, particularly the matter of finding the funds for development. But the advocates of small-scale manufacture are hoping that the cost-effectiveness analysis prepared for the entire program will be a convincing argument for making the right decisions.

The council also assessed the implementation of the 8 August 1983 resolution concerning the improvement of residential services during 1983-1985. It was determined that the regression in services, observed earlier, has been slowed down, but stability and expansion is still a very rare phenomenon. The Small-Scale Manufacturing Council announced that it would take measures aimed at improving these services and expanding the range of such services as repair of radio and television equipment, and laundry, dry cleaning and tailoring services.

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CSO: 2600/368

ECONOMY

POLAND

R&D RESULTS IN MINING, ENERGY SECTOR DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] Considering that as much as half of the growth in national income may be achieved through thrift and the application of technical and organizational innovations, our primary task is to find an effective way of putting these innovations into practice. Those were the words spoken during a meeting of efficiency experts from mines and power plants with the heads of the Ministry of Mining and Energy on 10 April in Katowice.

Last year 21,344 invention designs were submitted to this ministry--over 12 percent more than a year ago. This is a lot, but still, as was said, less than in the 1970's. Statistically speaking, two inventions were sent to the Patent Office daily. The number of efficiency-improvement suggestions put into practice is also growing; in 1985, 15 percent more of them were used than the previous year. But, as was pointed out, too much time still elapses between the submission of an idea and its application, and the consultation process on these proposals is still too long.

A detailed analysis shows that in 1982 one zloty spent on inventions brought 8.5 zlotys in return, and last year this return had already risen to 11.2 zlotys. Every invention design used brought results valued at over a million and a half zlotys. Several of the most interesting innovations should be described.

In the Piast mine, it was suggested that the water pumped out of the underground be used for municipal purposes. This will bring a gain of 38 million zlotys. Modernization of the coal cutter-loader in the Sosnowiec mine will bring 36 million zlotys. A new method of exploiting deposits in the Wieczorek mine is to bring gains amounting to 460 million zlotys. Modernization of the coal retention reservoirs in the Jankowice mine is worth 100 million zlotys.

In the Kozienice power plant, domestic parts were adapted to a special, imported turbine-driven pump, which brought over 2,000 million zlotys in gains. In the Polaniec power plant, one of the boilers was modernized, and over 40 million zlotys was thus earned. In the pumped-storage power plant in Zarnowiec, special seals were installed in the vanes of the guide apparatus, which brought gains amounting to 17 million zlotys.

The list of innovations is long, just as is the list of financial gains which the actions of people with an open mind brought to mining and energy. The meeting, which was conducted by Gen Czeslaw Piotrowski, minister of mining and energy, was attended also by Jerzy Romanik and the deputy chairman of the Trade Unions [legal successor to Solidarity], Stefan Koziaczy.

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CSO: 2600/368

ECONOMY

POLAND

PERSONNEL CHANGES IN FOREIGN TRADE SECTOR

Budimex Director

Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in Polish No 4, 9 Jan 86 p 9

[Text] Grzegorz Tuderek, born 10 March 1938, has been appointed to the position of chief director of the Budimex Company.

He has a higher technical education, specializing in surface construction. He began his professional career in 1961. He has been employed in the foreign trade sector since 1974. He recently worked as the director of an office in the Budimex Company.

The former chief director of the Budimex Company, Michal Siera, has retired.

On 1 December 1985, Witold Gorski, born 26 March 1948 in Gdansk, was appointed to the position of chief director of the Spedrapid Company, Ltd. in Gdynia.

He is a graduate of the University of Gdansk. He began his professional career in 1973. He has been employed in the foreign trade sector since 1985. He recently worked as a deputy chief of the PZPR Provincial Committee department in Gdansk.

On 16 December 1985, Andrzej Sobczyk, born 1 January 1937 in Radom, was appointed to the position of chief director of the Varimex PTHZ [Polish foreign trade company].

He has a higher economic education. He began his professional career in 1959 in the foreign trade sector. He recently worked as the deputy director of a department in the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

Director of C. Hartwig-Gdynia PSM

Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in Polish No 153, 21 Dec 85 p 8

[Text] On 8 November 1985, Leszek Olszewski, born 1 January 1951 in Gdansk, was appointed to the position of chief director of the C. Hartwig-Gdynia PSM.

He is a graduate of the University of Gdansk. He began his professional career in 1974 in the foreign trade ministry. He has recently worked in the position of director of the port forwarding office at the C. Hartwig-Gdynia PSM.

On 11 November 1985, Ludwik Drecki, born 19 May 1929 in Warsaw, was appointed to the position of deputy director of the Department of Commodity Policy in the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

He is a graduate of the SGPiS [Main School for Planning and Statistics]. He began his professional career in 1951. He has been employed in the foreign trade ministry since 1980. He recently worked as a commercial attache in the Office of the Commercial Counselor at the Polish Embassy in Budapest.

On 16 November 1985, Jacek Szeliga, born 30 July 1931 in the town of Choloje, was appointed to the position of commercial attache in the Office of the Commercial Counselor at the Polish Embassy in Moscow.

He has a higher technical education. He began his professional career in 1946. He has been employed in the foreign trade ministry since 1972. He recently worked as a division chief in the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

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CSO: 2600/258

ECONOMY

POLAND

BRIEFS

CEMENT SHORTAGE--There is a shortage of cement, even though the production capacity of the cement industry exceeds 22 million tons per year, i.e., close to 4 million tons more than the total required for the economy and for export, as planned in 1985. The basic reason for this is technological backwardness. About 60 percent of the cement is produced by the so-called "wet" method, which consumes 1.5 times more energy than the "dry" method. Twenty percent of the cement comes from cement factories heated by fuel oil instead of coal, which, with reduced fuel deliveries (for example, 400,000 tons less coal), has also caused a marked decline in production. Last year only 15.7 million tons of cement were produced. [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 10, 9 Mar 86 p 4] 9909

CSO: 2600/337

ECONOMY

ROMANIA

EFFORTS TO INCREASE EXPORTS IN CAR INDUSTRY

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian 28 Feb 86 pp 8,9

[Article by Gheorghe Nicolae, C. Munteanu, and M. Stoica: "Adapting Technical and Commercial Offers to the Requirements of International Markets"]

[Text] The establishment and development of the Romanian car industry has contributed to significantly altering the structure of production for the domestic market and to intensifying our country's participation in international economic exchanges of such items of a high technological complexity, through which we can better capitalize on our material and energy resources. As it developed, the Romanian car industry gradually assumed the task of meeting domestic demand. While the number of vehicles for the domestic market increased more than 3.6 times over in the 1965-84 period, reliance on imports gradually decreased. At the same time, the production capacities built and the new capacities planned permit the production of such items for export, a fact that increases the role of car sales in foreign markets for recouping the social efforts involved in producing them.

The development of the Romanian car industry has contributed not just to gradually reducing our reliance on imports for satisfying domestic demand, but also to steadily increasing exports. Between its establishment and 1984, this industrial subbranch delivered almost 400,000 vehicles for export, while in the entire 1960-84 period our country imported about 193,000 cars. In other words, the overall number of car imports was numerically recouped, and a considerable part of the currency expenditures generated by the establishment of this modern industrial sector were recovered.

While in the 1965-84 period the production of cars increased almost 34 times over, car exports increased more than 190 times. The development of the Romanian car industry considerably contributed to amending the structure of our country's exports in favor of products involving complex technology, higher raw material processing, and original scientific design.

The markets for Romanian cars differed considerably according to the two major categories of vehicles (passenger and utility cars). In 1984, 19.3 percent of the total number of cars exported were utilities, and the export quota for this type of vehicles was 67.5 percent. Since the manufacturing enterprise won international appreciation as one of the large producers and exporters, the

share of exports in the entire production increased from only 9 percent in 1965, to approximately one third in 1975 and to about two thirds in 1984. This development is mainly due to the high performance of the Romania's ARO jeep-type car, demonstrated at prestigious international competitions (The African Endurance Rally, the Algerian Rally, the Belgian Woods Rally, and others).

The development and diversification of the passenger car industry contributed to channeling an increasing share of its production to export (from 31.6 percent in 1975 to 47 percent in 1984). Within the overall 1984 car exports, passenger cars made up 80.7 percent, as compared to 68.2 percent in 1980.

The increase in passenger car exports, particularly in the past 5 years (from 14,700 cars in 1980 to almost 50,400 in 1984, i.e., 3.4 times more) is primarily explained by the establishment and consolidation of large foreign markets, such as: the GDR, People's Republic of Hungary, People's Republic of Poland, Greece, Colombia, etc. Similarly, Romanian cars succeeded in penetrating traditional markets in industrialized countries such as England, Italy, Canada, Denmark, and Australia.

Secondly, the Romanian offer of passenger cars continued to steadily diversify. Having begun with one model (Dacia 1300 standard in 1970), by 1984 we were manufacturing two families of cars in eight versions. To that we must add annual models and a large number of variations adapted to various foreign market requirements.

Thirdly, the performance of Romanian passenger cars was highlighted by our participation, especially after 1977, in many international competitions. Thus, Dacia cars came in first in the 1,300 cc [cubic centimeters] class in 25 such competitions: 4 times in the Balkan championship and the Tour of Europe in teams, 5 times in rallies organized in Bulgaria (Herbos and the Golden Sands), twice at the Yu Rally (Yugoslavia), at the Arwayler Rally in the FRG (1979), the Gunaydin Rally in Turkey (1984), and others. However, the greatest success was recorded by the three Dacia cars that took the first three places for the 1,300 cc class in the group of big series cars, and the second place in the general tournament of plant teams at the Portugal rally (5-10 March 1983), which was one of the stages of the World Rally Championship (the third most difficult contest).

Innovation as the Main Marketing Factor

In order to utilize the production capacities with maximum economic efficiency, efforts must be intensified to promote Romania's car exports. It is estimated that, in the conditions of increasing production by 1990 to 345,000-365,000 cars, exports can increase several times over, while the share of exports in the overall number of cars manufactured in our country is expected to steadily increase in the same period.

The achievement of these objectives directly depends on enhancing the competitiveness of Romanian cars, a goal that requires not merely performances on a par with the large international producers, but also great flexibility in diversifying and adapting the structure of offers to increasingly specialized

demands, as well as varied marketing solutions in accordance with international trends in this area. In point of fact, we must specify that in the first years of the current decade the international competition increased primarily because the production became concentrated in several strongly industrialized capitalist countries (in 1982, the United States, Japan, Canada, and the major west European manufacturers were together producing some 87 percent of all cars, not counting the production of their branches in other parts of the world), which determined the major foreign trade currents (the above mentioned countries exported 46 percent of their production and imported about 40 percent) and sales conditions in foreign markets.

There is no doubt that raising the technical and quality level of Romanian cars, simultaneously with implementing the diversification program by putting into production the standardized ranges (which will make it possible to export, for example, Dacia cars in four cylinder versions between 1,185 cc and 1,580 cc, including a Diesel version), designing new basic types and models of cars, creating new generations of car bodies, etc., will constitute essential factors of enhancing our competitiveness, even if they materialize in higher foreign market prices.

The efforts of the Romanian researchers have been and continue to be directed at manufacturing subassemblies with state-of-the-art performance, which can be achieved by extensively utilizing standard elements. Along this line we want to cite several impressive results, such as: "Engine set of the standard family (spark ignition engine, 1,578 cc)," "Engine set of the standard family (Diesel engine, 1,578 cc)," and "New type of dashboard and central bracket for Dacia cars."

The contribution of Romanian scientific-technical design to modernizing the car industry is also illustrated by the innovations and inventions movement of the Pitesti car enterprise, as can be seen from the following table.

Year	Number of inventions and innovations	Economic efficiency lei/year
1965	60	850,061
1970	66	2,293,364
1975	71	3,885,427
1980	78	15,215,000
1984	85	16,440,000

Transfer of Technology as a Major Factor of Competitiveness

Marketing studies show that price increases for cars in international markets are predicated by the rapid introduction in production of research aimed at designing new models with higher performances, such as:

--extensive use of microelectronics in the manufacture of cars, which contributes to optimizing their efficient utilization, reducing diagnosis costs and cutting back on damage implicitly, and increasing the car's viability and safety, etc.;

--technological improvement of the manufacture of conventional engine sets (with piston), mainly aimed at reducing fuel consumption, and the adoption of construction solutions permitting the utilization of alternative fuels;

--improved aerodynamic characteristics of new models, without affecting the degree of comfort and convenience, since, according to estimations, reducing the frontal coefficient of aerodynamic resistance by 30 percent on an average car leads to a 20 percent average reduction of specific consumption on highways and roads, etc. All these technological improvements can lead to significant user savings.

Along this line we want to mention that, according to the results of a poll conducted in France, the majority of customers questioned expressed willingness to pay more for a car if the additional investment can be recouped by running savings.

Naturally, promoting Romanian car exports and increasing their economic efficiency also depends on the adoption of marketing forms in foreign markets compatible not only with the scale of domestic production, but also with the specific conditions of the international trade in such commodities. The following aspects must be emphasized in this connection:

--In view of the technological changes that have occurred in the car industry, we note international trends to combine production strategies with marketing and service. On the one hand, this is aimed at securing stable deliveries not only through contracts on finished products, but also on assembly lines or, in particular, parts and components (for example, 34 percent of the exports of the car industries in developed capitalist countries are made up of parts and components). It can be stated that none of the cars manufactured in those countries is achieved without extensive production sharing with other firms. On the other hand, the major car manufacturers are increasingly interested in realizing cash returns and, implicitly, in profits obtained through sales, service, repairs, maintenance, refurbishing, etc.

--The diversification of marketing forms consists primarily of creating and developing one's own car sales networks in other countries, as has been the case with the large manufacturing firms (Japanese firms have about 8,500 outlets in the U.S. market, and FRG firms have over 7,500 outlets), through which the manufacturer can keep abreast of the demands of the respective markets and use that information to correctly guide their production. Secondly, because of the rapid increase in the cost of entering and maintaining various segments of the market, there is a trend to intensify international cooperation; this is true of the large companies, too (for example, the production and sales branches of Peugeot and Fiat in Argentina have merged and have expanded their cooperation throughout the South American countries; Peugeot and Talbot have a joint marketing network both in France and overseas, etc.).

--As a result of improved basic technologies, which are reflected in higher performances, there is a trend to extend the duration of general warranty as a means of boosting sales in foreign markets (all the traditional firms award at

least 1 year and 20,000 km, while some allow unlimited mileage under warranty). At the same time, special warranties are granted for subassemblies and spare parts: some firms guarantee at least 6 years of body wear against corrosion, 2-3 years of engine wear, and 6-12 months for various spare parts regardless of whether the car is still under general warranty, etc.

In keeping with the continually changing sales conditions prevailing in foreign markets, Romanian car exports can be promoted only on the basis of a package of converging measures, structured in accordance with the guidelines established by the 13th RCP Congress on raising the technical and quality level of our products and intensifying international economic cooperation.

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CSO:2700/128

ECONOMY

ROMANIA

NEED TO REDUCE BOTTLENECKS IN FOUNDRY OPERATIONS

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian 26 Feb 86 pp 13,14

[Article by Vasile Murar: "Comprehensive Approach as Efficiency Condition for Technological Modernization"]

[Text] Theoretical plans normally recognize the fact that the success of a technological modernization drive--and even more so the success of upgrading actions--require a broader view of the factors that influence the respective process, whether they be the organization of technological floors, labor organization, or the securing of appropriately qualified manpower. This reality becomes even more urgent when technological improvements are examined not in an isolated manner, but are projected to the entire complex of activities carried out in an enterprise.

However, it emerges that this principle is not always properly implemented, a fact that affects efficiency as a whole. In our view, this happens when the intrinsic potential of a certain new product of technology is exaggerated, on the one hand, and on the other hand, because of a certain methodological distortion that tends to place technical performance and utilization performance on an equal footing, although the latter is influenced by a series of other factors. If we were to further generalize, we would say that this kind of situation pleads for the idea that technics and technology are not independent of the real production conditions under which they are carried out.

In current activities, this problem is perceived as an effective dysfunction, known in the jargon as a "bottleneck." However, while this term usually refers to the technological process as such, its meaning may also be extended to labor organization aspects, auxiliary activities, and so forth. Through an investigation of the hot-rolling sections of several machine-building enterprises (23 August, Bucharest; Trucks, Braşov; Republica, Reşin; Cast Parts, Cimpina; Fine Mechanics, Sinaia; and Heavy Machinery Combine, Cluj-Napoca. The above enterprises have carried out or are in the process of carrying out technological modernization projects), we undertook to diagnose and classify this type of lack of correlation with a view to clarifying its impact on labor productivity.

To once again use the popular terminology, in many of the foundries of the above mentioned enterprises we noted "bottlenecks" caused by the difference between the productive capacities of the equipment used at certain technological stages. Depending on the position of the modernized equipment within the technological flow (which normally increases its production capacity), disruptions may emerge at subsequent or preceding stages, with serious effects on the general labor productivity. For example, at the Republica metallurgical plant of Reghin, the "shaping" plant has a far larger capacity than the induction furnace; while the shaping plant (with an actual capacity of 60 shapes per hour) could process 4.7 tons of liquid metal an our for casting drums and 6.43 tons for casting another important part (hubs), the furnace has a capacity of only 1.5 tons an hour.

There are also situations in which the same fragmented outlook of modernization (through automation and mechanization) of technological flows, instead of providing real solutions and increasing labor productivity, contributes only to shifting the bottleneck. For example, prior to the modernization, the slower phase was the casting (using the open pit casting method). In the absence of increased capacity at the preceding or subsequent phases, the automation of this phase shifts the difficulties to other stages of the production process. (In the situation studied, the "preparation," "mixing," coring, or cleaning phases are potential "bottlenecks").

One of the particularly important aspects concerning the general need to increase production quality is the coordination of the rate of production and the capacity (and efficiency) of quality control and its technical-material basis. Currently, however, at the foundries studied the methods and means of control are not longer suited to the level of technical equipment of the production, hourly output, and rate of manufacture. Post-factum quality control is still widely practiced (at the preparation stage through laboratory analysis of the chemical composition of the cast metal) or through spot checking after the lot has been completely finished. In view of the fact that some parts require a more stringent quality control--since the performance of an entire piece of equipment may depend on them--it is necessary to apply preventive and exhaustive control, which cannot be achieved through traditional methods. Such an investment in improving control apparatus may, on the surface, seem secondary. But this view is not justified, because increased labor productivity in the technological process may be undermined by a high percentage of producer discards or utilization difficulties. (In order to solve this problem, the specialists of the Brasov trucks enterprise have designed the organization of in-process quality control. With the aid of this line of automated control, the unit can rapidly supervise the degree of modulization of 100 percent of the liquid metal prepared, automatically verify its hardness 100 percent, effect strict and non-destructive control of the "safety" parts, and eliminate the discards. This method is expected to save 13,440 hours/man/year, and at the same time, to raise the technical and qualitative level of the production of cast parts.)

The need for a broad overview and coordinated actions in promoting technical progress also appears in correlating the actual manufacturing process with a series of service activities (sometimes incorrectly described as auxiliary). In-plant transportation is a good example in this respect, because the

automation of certain phases of the casting process requires new concepts concerning the volume, speed, and even reorganization of the access ways to the respective shops. In the course of our investigation we noted that lack of coordination between the actual transportation capacity of the foundries and the production capacity of certain technological phases--which was increased as a result of modernization--considerably contributed (up to 50 percent) to the stoppage of installations that were being appropriately supplied with energy, fuel, and raw materials.

But perhaps the most significant lack of correlation occurs between the technical level and the supply of manpower. Naturally, the problem is more complex and less obvious from the viewpoint of quantity estimation, and in the case of foundries it also features specific aspects. The more general issue is to secure highly qualified manpower well in time, particularly for new or extensively modernized foundries. Some of the obstacles that emerge in practice are caused by the fact that this type of profession has a smaller appeal for young people; in this situation, cadres recruitment is either below requirements, or is done by "negative selection."

In our opinion, the situation prevailing in almost all the foundries--and noted in the course of our investigation--requires a different approach to the problems, which should yield important results in the area of general modernization actions. The labor force and its stability can be ensured at two organizational levels, which are essentially not mutually exclusive: by automating primarily those production sections in which a manpower shortage is expected (for example, the stage of cleaning the parts) on the one hand, and on the other hand by raising the work environment to the level of other production sections. More concretely, we are referring to eliminating harmful agents (gasses, dust, noise) by giving priority to investments in anti-pollution equipment; simultaneously with facilitating the work itself, such an action can contribute to raising the social prestige of such professions and implicitly, to ensuring labor force and its stability.

The issues we brought up do not exhaust the problem, but are, in our view, sufficiently relevant to highlight the need for an overall concept of technological modernization and innovation. First of all, this manner of evaluation permits the consideration of all the factors that have a bearing on the technological potential as such, the cost of "amortizing" them, and the general efficiency of modernization. On the other hand, by approaching the problem from this angle we can decide the order of priority of investment and organizational efforts, within which the technological factor may not always be the most important (a better labor organization can increase productivity at a low cost and permit the intensive utilization of the existing fixed assets). Naturally, such an analysis is more complex, requires interdisciplinary efforts, and more time. Judiciously planned, such analysis efforts are, however, justified by their contribution to economic efficiency.

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CSO:2700/128

ECONOMY

ROMANIA

INCREASED LABOR PRODUCTIVITY IN COAL INDUSTRY NEEDED

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian 28 Feb 86 pp 3,5

[Article by Dr. Alexandru Mihailescu and Cazimir Ionescu: "Increased Labor Productivity as an Intensive Means of Increasing Coal Production"]

[Text] The urgent need to rapidly increase the production and regular delivery of coal to customers, in conditions of great efficiency, makes it necessary to enhance labor productivity in this important sector of the national economy. There are many ways of attaining this objective. What are the experiences and what actions are being taken along this line by mining enterprises?

Among all the mining units, the Jiu Valley Combine plays a particular role in supplying the economy with the necessary quantities of coking and power plant coal. Although the production tasks allotted to the collective of working people in the combine enterprises are almost 25 percent higher than last year's achievements, in January and February of this year they have been fulfilled and even exceeded, thus overfulfilling the plan by 30,000 tons and 16,000 tons respectively, and the production obtained was efficiently delivered to the Mintia and Paroseni power plants. The best results were obtained by the miners of Lonea, Uricani, Vulcan, Dilja, and Paroseni, who have been consistently exceeding their daily plan tasks.

A detailed analysis of the factors that have contributed to these results highlights the fact that, in the great majority of cases, they were based on the resolute implementation of the measures featured in the program drafted for the combine to increase labor productivity and expand mechanization, while reducing the consumption of electrical power by 10 percent and material consumption by close to 15 percent. The more marked increase in labor productivity at the level of both the combine as a whole and each enterprise is the main intensive means of completely fulfilling the planned production of coal and of achieving a high economic efficiency. At the same time, past experience and the studies and analyses made at the combine have highlighted new elements that can and must be taken into account in assessing the increase in labor productivity and particularly in establishing the technical-organizational measures required to attain the levels planned for this index.

A primary aspect consists of varying rates of increase of labor productivity in accordance with the level at which it is calculated (coal face, mine, post,

person, etc.). For example, over a period of 15 years which made the object of the analysis, labor productivity increased by approximately 40 percent per post, while the increase at the level of mining exploitation was of only 10 percent. Far from being a mere matter of method, this evolution reflects varying objective possibilities, as well as the concept of actions indicated in order to increase labor productivity. At the same time, they highlight the fact that, by expanding the equipment available and the degree of mechanization of operations, opportunities were created for increasing labor productivity at the cutting face, but not throughout the mining units to the same extent. The evolution of labor productivity recorded at the Paroseni mining enterprise is conclusive along this line: the enterprise rapidly enhanced the degree of work mechanization and noted a great difference between the rates of growth of labor productivity in the entire unit and at the cutting faces. This led to cuts in the number of auxiliary personnel employed in certain mining activities, and to simultaneous personnel increases in directly productive sectors and in the maintenance of mining operations, equipment, and installations. From this viewpoint, we believe that within the framework of the complex mechanization of mining operations, greater attention should be paid to maximizing the overall effect on the entire unit, and not just to partial effects, so that economic efficiency can be brought up to the level of the planned quotas.

Another problem that must be more efficiently resolved at the combine is that of achieving an appropriate correlation between production dynamics and the dynamics of fixed assets. In the past 10 years, the technical equipment provided increased three times more rapidly than did labor productivity. The increases in the supply of technical equipment differed from one mining unit to another, depending on a number of considerations, mainly the potential of the natural conditions (number of layers, thickness and inclination of the layers, fault density, etc.), which differ from one mine to another. The fact that labor productivity did not keep up with the increases in technical equipment was due, aside from the effect of natural factors, to certain shortcomings concerning particularly the suitability of certain equipment, assemblies, and subassemblies, and supplies of spare parts and various materials. In consequence thereof, some Jiu Valley lignite units failed to maintain an appropriate correlation between increases in technical supplies and in labor productivity.

Proceeding from the implications of this situation and from the need to ensure a complete balance between the two economic indexes at the level of the combine and of individual mining units, specific measures were established as of last year, such as: intensifying geological work designed to more precisely ascertain the resources and natural conditions of deposits; implementing new and highly efficient technologies; using equipment with improved technical and economic characteristics, and particularly with a far greater viability.

Based on their studies on the measures recommended for separating the dirt from the cutting face and depositing it underground, the combine specialists came to the conclusion that in order to increase the net productivity in the extraction of lignite, production activities must be more markedly geared on certain implications and restrictions imposed on the respective technology, namely: implications for the stability of mining operations, due to the effect

of shifting rocks or layers caused by making underground deposit spaces for the dirt; implications for future mining operations as a result of making these underground dirt deposits. The underground separation and storage of dirt has positive effects on the energy efficiency of lignite extraction and on the quality of the coal brought up, at the same time, however, it has the reverse impact on labor productivity. This means that the measures taken in the area of coal extraction and storage must under no circumstance be allowed to slow down the rate of growth of labor productivity.

Naturally, increases in labor productivity are mainly determined by the quality of the manpower and its utilization. Along this line, the main issue highlighted by the analysis is the still pronounced instability of the labor force, which has undesirable consequences on raising labor productivity more rapidly. A no less important role in this respect is played by the fact that the majority of the working personnel employed come from other parts of the country (approximately 60 percent of the personnel comes from outside the respective county and the neighboring counties). Thus, upon being hired, many of the working personnel have a very sketchy idea of the work involved and difficulties in becoming acclimatized to the new social and work environment, thus generating and exacerbating the fluctuation phenomenon. Similarly, attracting labor force from other areas involves increased investment in social facilities (hostels, housing, schools, etc.).

In order to ensure a larger number of local personnel and secure a stable labor force, both the mining combine and each individual mining enterprise must show greater care for the personnel and must efficiently meet requirements concerning the training and allocation of new cadres to teams manned by experienced miners and to jobs suited to the skills of each new worker.

12782
CSO:2700/128

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

TRAFFIC IN CONSTANTA PORT--Presently, when only a few days remain before the beginning of the new five-year plan, the working men at the Constanta Port have increased efforts in order to satisfy transportation needs of the domestic economy in an integral and exemplary way. Through their untiring work over 2,200 ships were handled in the port, 1,900 of which were on schedule or ahead of schedule, and the port traffic exceeded 20 million tons, including approximately 8 million for exports. It should be mentioned that to this port traffic one should also add the 30 million tons handled by the fleet and Railroad Directorate in the Constanta port. [Bucharest LUPTA CFR in Romanian 27 Dec 85 p 3]

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CSO: 2700/143

ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

PROFESSOR ESTIMATES NUMBERS IN CLASS STRUCTURE

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Apr 86 p 6

[Excerpt] Slaven Letica, professor of the Medical Faculty in Zagreb, otherwise an economist with a multidisciplinary approach, formulated the following sketch of the structure of Yugoslav society using all possible empirical data:

Category	Numbers of People
Elite	16,000
Functionaries	15,000
Managers	154,000
White-Collar Employees	1,050,000
Workers	3,900,000
Those in private enterprise	224,000
Farmers	2,232,000
Day laborers	480,000
Employees in religious institutions	13,000
The poor	1,115,000
(included in this the number of pensioners receiving welfare payments on inadequate pensions)	320,000

The following breakdown was made within the "Elite" category: politicians 2,600, scientists 200, professionals 1,500, those in show business and sports 500, diplomats 2,000, the military 400, those with money 8,000 to 10,000, the religious elite 100 to 200, and those with businesses in the artisan sector.

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CSO: 2800/246

ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

ECONOMIC CHAMBER DISCUSSES DECLINING ECONOMY, JOINT PROGRAMS

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 29 Apr 86 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] Total economic results at the beginning of this year are not satisfactory, exports are falling, and business people again noted that little has been done to change the general situation. This was the impression left by discussions about economic trends at the beginning of the year held by the executive council of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber (PKJ). Petrasin Petrasinovic, director of the Bureau for Market Research, pointed to the contradictory economic results in the first 4 months of this year, estimating that imbalance and instability will continue. Now these are hidden by the fact that in the first quarter of 1986 there was a production increase, a significant increase in consumption, and the market was satisfactorily supplied. Inflation at the same time was increasing to 81 percent and uncollected accounts receivable were increasing, as were losses, interest rates, and the rate-of-exchange differences. The foreign exchange market is not functioning which makes our exports uncompetitive.

Market indicators at the beginning of the second quarter, he continued, show that the positive trends are temporary and unfavorable trends are increasing, which is logical considering that the high production growth rate in the first quarter was largely the result of an artificially created market.

Noting that the poor results of the first 4 months have brought complete uncertainty to economic activity in the next months, Petrasinovic stressed that "the desired stabilization changes have still not been made and the vulnerable economic potential and material trends offer no basis for continuing the positive tendencies in the next months."

The incentive to export has noticeably weakened, he said, because higher income can be earned on the domestic than on the foreign market. Exports to the convertible currency area are especially endangered because of the decline of the dollar, while the fall in prices is increasingly apparent also on the clearing account market.

Hence, from year to year ever more goods and services are being exported for less hard currency and all this leads to stagnation in development.

Noting that real personal incomes per worker which had fallen in the last 5 years were increased 2.3 percent last year, Petrasinovic added that the same time investment activity had increased. In this regard, it is of concern that investment (26,706 projects are under construction) in very small projects is dominant and that financing largely relies on inflationary sources. Everyone wants new programs, the restructuring of capacities; and the economy is increasingly faced with the problem of how to stop the technological lag and to increase employment. In contrast to these desires, the investment potential [for repayment] (the debts for capital investments in process are large) is exceptionally modest, so repayment of funds used for new construction is very questionable.

Petrasinovic said, in pointing to the causes for increased domestic consumption, that budgetary and joint expenditures had increased markedly, and the planned budgetary increase of 76 percent represented proclamation of a general hike in domestic consumption and prices. According to a survey of the Bureau for Market Research, a further increase in domestic demand cannot be expected because there is no coverage for this in production and export.

Inflation, as an expression of the general impotence of economic policy, exceeded 80 percent at the beginning of April, while the developed countries are successfully reducing inflation... even with "shock therapy" methods. Surveys of the Bureau for Market Research indicate that in the next months prices will increase by an average of 5 percent per month. This calls for emergency measures to limit demand and price disparity, to improve the efficiency of economic operation, to unburden the economy, etc. Efforts to raise economic efficiency by real exchange-rate and interest-rate policies have not brought results. Measures are therefore needed which will increase the volume and quality of exports and production on a lasting basis. More modernization and specialization of capacities [is needed]... especially of those programs which are part of modern development.

Radojko Rilipovic, secretary of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber's coordinating council for economic relations with foreign countries, noted that exports were lagging \$300 million behind the plan and if this continues exports will be a billion dollars less in relation to the balance of payments. The basic reasons for such a situation are the slow-down in imports of raw materials and producer goods needed for producing goods for export and this is closely tied to the non-functioning of the foreign exchange and foreign trade system and high inflation.

He said that the PKJ has made proposals several times to the FEC (Federal Executive Council) and federal organs but received no reaction from them. It is necessary to take measures outside of the PKJ in order for us to solve these export problems. He then added that the policy on the real exchange rate of the dinar is being carried on outside of the PKJ (in spite of contrary assertions) ...and this should not be the case.

In regard to the status of preparing joint [across republic borders] programs and plans for development, it was said that they are developing remarkably well. Up to now, after some straying and complications, three projects are completed: the Jugo-Zastava, the rubber industry, and technical [tehnicki] gas industry. Some 10 additional programs are almost completed and another 10 will be elaborated by the end of the year.

The executive council of the PKJ assessed its activity up to now as positive, considering the general impotence in implementing the stabilization program, the declining motivation for planning in the economy, the gross shortcomings in the Yugoslav Social Plan, the lack of common methodology for calculating the effects of joint plans, the lack of coordination of plan regulations between republics and provinces, the slow adaptation of business banks to implement the new banking law...

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CSO: 2800/246

ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

CONSTRUCTION FIRMS ABROAD HAVE PAYMENTS PROBLEMS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Apr 86 p 5

[Excerpt] The \$2.1 billion earned last year by our construction firms working abroad... [placed them] in 9th place among world exporters of construction work. Perhaps up to now such work has been a gold mine for some. For the masses of almost 30,000 workers it has not been, and in the light of the latest Libyan events, any discussion of this kind seems irrelevant.

From the above earnings it is easy to conclude that this branch is significant and it is necessary to support its export orientation. But opposite claims can in fact be made: ...the fact that work projects are carried out for barter trade, in this case, oil and its payment, is one of the problems.

For at least 5 percent of such construction work those who commission the work pay in oil. Sometimes it is also given to the construction firms as an advance. The deliveries are made regularly to our refineries. At the same time money from the users of the oil should flow into the accounts of the construction firms. According to the latest conclusions of the FEC (Federal Executive Council) issued almost 2 months ago, those who are receiving the oil deliveries are obligated to pay for this (in dinars) to the enterprise which earned it at least 1 month from the day the oil is loaded at the port of the country where the construction firm is working.

No one has held to this [agreement]. In 6 months no payments have been made. The latest news is that seven construction work organizations sent a claim to the National Bank and the FEC for \$2.5 million and 3.7 billion dinars. These sums include interest for 1983, 1984, and for 9 months of 1985. [As a result of the payments problem] our construction firms have been forced to take short-term credits at interest rates of 40 to 60 percent in dinars and 10 to 12 percent in hard currency.

Certain construction firms are reducing the volume of their work. Why must they work and then wait for their earnings, why is their money flowing into the income of refineries, despite the FEC conclusions?

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CSO: 2800/246

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR FOREIGN MINISTER WRITES ON FOREIGN POLICY

AU280503 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 24 Mar 86 pp 1, 3

[Statement by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs: "Our Common Ideal Is Peace"--no date given]

[Text] Prague, through Novosti specially for OTECHESTVEN FRONT--Socialist Czechoslovakia is conducting an active peace-loving foreign policy in the international arena and is confirming the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence between states with a different social order. By its peace initiatives it is contributing to the increase of the authority of world socialism and is fighting to strengthen the solidarity with the fraternal states in the spirit of socialist internationalism. Czechoslovakia is acting in the international arena creatively and with initiative, coordinating its efforts with the fraternal Warsaw Pact member-countries, which for more than 3 decades have been a trusty shield for peace and socialism.

Czechoslovak foreign policy relies on the labor achievements of the people, and approaches all aspects of international life from principled class positions.

The past 5-year plan period has been a complex one in international relations. The tension in certain areas has reached the highest level since the time of World War II. The reactionary militarist circles of the United States and NATO continue to conduct a policy from a position of strength directed at undermining the equilibrium that has been established.

We, the citizens of socialist Czechoslovakia, a country in the very center of Europe, are especially sensitive to any changes whatever in this policy. We are closely watching the West's attempts to destabilize the situation in Europe, to interfere in the internal affairs of individual states, to foment ideological and psychological war, to deploy new American nuclear missiles on our continent in the direct vicinity of the western borders of the CSSR, and to make new displays of revanchism.

The Soviet peace initiatives which were set out in Mikhail Gorbachev's declaration of 15 January this year and which were further developed at the 27th CPSU Congress are the central axis for solving the most important issues concerning the whole of mankind, the issue of peace and war, detente or

confrontation, development or militarization. This is a plan to free mankind from nuclear weapons by the end of this century. The decree of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR government of 17 January 1986 stresses that Czechoslovakia is ready to fight actively for the implementation of the package of peace initiatives proposed by the USSR. Our countries have common goals and tasks, and our common ideal is peace.

The basis of our foreign policy has been and remains friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries. We draw strength and assurance from the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union. Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, constantly emphasizes that for us the friendship with the Soviet Union is not only a revolutionary legacy, but also a living reality of today, a source of the confidence with which we are drawing up plans and outlining prospects for further development.

Czechoslovakia is and remains an inseparable link in the military-political defensive alliance of the socialist states--the Warsaw Pact. This pact reliably guarantees collective security, the integrity of the frontiers of the fraternal states, and a quiet peaceful life for our peoples. We are consistently striving to implement the proposals and initiatives adopted at the session of the supreme organs of the Warsaw Pact. We are actively propagandizing the most important principles contained in the Prague Political Declaration adopted in January 1983. This document has not lost its topical significance even today. It contains the proposal of the Warsaw Pact member-countries to the NATO countries for the conclusion of a Treaty for the Mutual Nonuse of Military Force and for maintaining peaceful relations.

Over the period between our party's 16th and 17th Congresses we have activated, expanded, and deepened our relations with the developing, nonaligned, neutral, and certain capitalist states. With many of them we are carrying on a constructive and, in a number of cases, continuing political dialogue. The main aim of Czechoslovak foreign policy is and will continue to be in the future to struggle for the strengthening of universal peace. Peace is the chief condition for carrying out the constructive plans which the 17th CPCZ Congress will set before our peoples. For this reason the foreign policy of the CSSR will intensify its efforts to implement the Soviet peace initiatives.

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CSO: 2200/110

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HAVEL'S NEW PLAY: DISSIDENTS UNDER TYRANNY

Paris LE MONDE in French 3 Apr 86 p 3

[Text] Vaclav Havel's latest play, "Largo Desolato," is currently playing at the Theatre La Bruyere. Its author, a Czechoslovakian dramatist whose plays are staged all over the world these days, did not attend the Paris premiere, nor has he ever seen a performance of any of his plays over a span of 15 or more years. The reason? He is also a dissident, one of the founders of the Charter 77 citizen activist group that has made a name for itself with 9 years of tireless activity on behalf of civil and human rights in Czechoslovakia. That commitment has already cost the playwright 4 and 1/2 years in prison. He is relentlessly harassed by the political police, who periodically suggest that he leave the country—but without a return visa. Vaclav Havel, however, has no desire to emigrate.

The hero of "Largo Desolato" is an antihero, a philosopher whose work unfortunately does not please the totalitarian government under which he lives. He fully expects to be arrested, but at the same time his intimates--intellectuals, "workers," friends--are also expecting something from him: some sensational act, some great coup that they would like to be as earth-shaking and soul-stirring as they themselves are insignificant, selfish, and craven.

A Succession of Defeats

In Soviet-style dictatorships, dissidence is essentially a personal matter, a decision depending primarily on the individual's habit of mind. This is why most dissidents are recruited from the ranks of the intellectuals, from those strata of society that are most aware of being deprived of their civil rights. More than once, the ideas that spark this intellectual resistance have spread to the masses of the people and delivered the critical push that sets revolutions rolling. Dissidence, though, is in most cases a one-man, solitary, non-violent combat whose outcome is hopelessly predictable: arrest, prison, labor camp, the psychiatric hospital, exile or, in the best of cases, loss of civil rights, and sanctions of indefinite duration that strike just as hard at the families of those who "think otherwise." There is a paradoxical reaction to this ostracism. One could say that the children of dissidents today form a new generation of outlaws ready to take over from their elders, but who promise to wield influence among their peers which their parents never managed to achieve.

It is a fact that, in all so-called socialist regimes, activists put hors de combat, silenced, or expelled are replaced by new men, no less resolute--although this replacement of the fallen takes on, according to the particular country, varying degrees of scope, drive, and pace.

There is something of the miraculous in all this, when you reflect that the first generation of dissidents--much like the very regimes it sought to challenge--met with nothing but defeats. Not one of the manifestations of dissent we have cited succeeded in bringing about lasting and decisive change, much less in demolishing the regime in power. People's rebellions were crushed by Soviet tanks or by the local militia. Intellectual challenge was reduced to silence or at least neutralized by the ubiquitous political police, by draconian rulings from the courts, by economic and social pressures, or simply by the lopsidedness of the contest.

In the Soviet Union, where relatively substantial intellectual dissent was active during the sixties and seventies, little is heard about it these days, aside from the few thousand refuzniks whose sole desire is to emigrate--except from one sick man, Academician Andrey Sakharov--from his devoted wife and from their handful of friends in Moscow. The KGB has shipped out or liquidated all the rest. The few of the vanquished whom the world still remembers are exchanged--as Anatoly Sharansky was recently. Things are pretty much the same in the RDA: The workers work and do not grumble, the dissident intellectuals have emigrated, the students have no time for anything but their studies. While it is true that dissidence in Poland is still very much alive and enjoys the sympathy of almost the entire population, it is also undeniable that the society's revolutionary energy has been at least temporarily sapped since Solidarity was banned. Opposition in Bulgaria is all but nonexistent. In Romania, dissidents are either gagged or forced to flee to the West. The unrest that surfaces sporadically in Yugoslavia stems more from ethnic conflicts than from a demand for civil liberties. As for Czechoslovakia, Charter 77 is still out of reach for a society entangled in the machinery of the "parallel economy" (the black market, moonlighting jobs). It is a somber picture, indeed....

And yet! The record would be incomplete were we to leave out the encouraging bits. First of all is the fact that the neo-Stalinist system has lost, once and for all, the support of the working masses as well as that of the intelligentsia--not only in the portion of Europe under Communist domination, but also in almost every country in the world. Stalinism is nothing more to the younger generation than a bogeyman or a figure of fun. Communist intellectuals, only yesterday the pillars of Stalinism, can be counted today on the fingers of one hand, and are hardly to be seen anymore except in the Western democracies. Their glorious future, so often promised, seems to have been postponed sine die. To make up for that, they have dramatically laid bare the bloody record of the system that claimed to be freeing mankind from material as well as moral poverty.

Nobility

In a word, we all know the "emperor" has no clothes on and, even though many are still forced to march in step behind the banner of the regime, nobody believes in it anymore, everybody does his best to cheat and deceive it, and

waits only to catch the ball on the first bounce. Human and civil rights, denied to whole nations, are now on the agenda of every international conference. The credit for that belongs, in large part, to today's dissidents who are so sorely tried.

Yet another undeniable fact, perhaps the most important, is that the dissident community in the Soviet bloc countries speaks in such noble and lofty language as to sound quite exceptional in our cynical and materialist fin-de-siecle. Its voice is at once an example and a challenge.

Dissidence, underground today but tomorrow the vanguard of the uprising, seeks neither to be pitied nor to be idealized. It is enough not to be forgotten, that its importance not be made light of, but rather to be supported and upheld by all possible means, in the political and diplomatic arena, at the cultural level, and of course as part of the most elementary civil solidarity. Everything we can do in this direction will be in our own interest.... Because, as Vaclav Havel wrote in one of his essays: "Dissidence in the Soviet bloc is undergoing an experience specific to the modern era, the experience of living on the outermost reef of a dehumanized government. In this capacity, dissidence has not only the opportunity, but also the duty to ponder this experience, to make testimony of it and to pass it on to those who are fortunate enough to have been spared it."

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CSO: 2900/3

POLITICS

POLAND

MESSNER ATTENDS PARTY TALKS WITH KATOWICE MINERS

LD112339 Warsaw PAP in English 1810 GMT 11 Apr 86

[Text] Warsaw, 11 April -- Preparations for the debates of the 10th PUPP Congress in the basic party cells in work establishments comprise individual talks with PUPP members and candidate-members.

Zbigniew Messner attended today party talks with miners of the "Katowice" colliery.

Miners displayed concern over the efficacy in combating signs of social ills and declared their own participation in fighting negative phenomena in their milieu. They asked the premier about a number of details concerning the government's work and displayed interest in the cadres policy of the party, in possibilities to more efficiently shape the lay world outlook in society, particularly among the young, in the state-church relations and other topics. Using the example of their own colliery, the miners pointed to the possibilities of savings in the economy. A number of comments and opinions concerned various aspects of environmental protection.

The talks were conducted in a serious though direct atmosphere, said Zbigniew Messner. Miners formulated their judgements and opinions on various subjects concerning the works, region and the whole country in a mature way.

The issues raised by them are a reflection of the public views and attitudes. They proved the correctness of the aim of the party dialogue.

Messner met today with socio-political activists of the [word indistinct] office in Katowice and with delegates to a pre-congress conference of the office's party organization.

Participants in the meeting spoke about the tasks that PUPP and the government put before state administration before the 10th PUPP Congress. It was stressed that it is necessary to smoothly realize the population's motions and postulates.

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CSO: 2020/122

POLITICS

POLAND

BRIEFS

JOURNALISTS ON PRE-CONGRESS ROLE—The Main Administration of the Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic met in a plenary session on 20 February 1986 to discuss the role and tasks of the journalist profession in preparation for the 10th PZPR Congress. An especially aggressive attitude on the part of the mass media is necessary at this time, it was noted. Journalists must utilize all means at their disposal to sincerely and creatively—without ranting and cheap propaganda—fulfill their obligations to inform, publicize and initiate discussions on those issues of most importance to the entire nation. The party program draft and the experiences of the last 5 years provide the guidelines for this task. Bogdan Jachacz, director of the Department of Propaganda of the PZPR CC, took part in the discussion. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Feb 86 p 2] /12232

PLANNING-STATISTICS SCHOOL PARTY MEETING—Several dozen non-party students took part in an open meeting of the PZPR organization at the Warsaw Main School of Planning and Statistics. Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Sejm deputy marshall, took part in a lively discussion over the course of several hours on national issues, prior to the 10th Party Congress. The topics discussed were: the role of the intelligentsia in socialism, state policy toward the intelligentsia, economic reform, the Polish debt, quality of life and of work, the higher education amendments, the supervisory role of the Sejm, the range and activities of the consultative meetings, and the expectations associated with the upcoming 10th Party Congress. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Feb 86 p 2] /12232

'ZYCIE PARTII' EDITORIAL MEETING—A meeting of the editorial staff of the PZPR CC organ, ZYCIE PARTII, was held on 22 Feb 86. The meeting called to evaluate editorial activities in 1985 and also the publication's plans in the period before the 10th Party Congress, which were introduced by the editor-in-chief, Igor Lopatynski. The progress of the publication in improving form and content was ascertained as was its responsiveness to the needs of the primary party organizations and party activists in particular. The need for a further improvement of the publication's performance was noted, especially as a platform to exchange experiences and as an aid in party work. The following persons took part in the discussion: Antoni Wrobel, Adolf Dobieszewski, Zbigniew Smigielski, Czeslaw Rowinski, Antoni Banaszak, Jerzy Jaskiernia. The session was chaired by Wladslaw Jonkisz, PZPR CC member and member of the Council of State, who underscored the fact that the Editorial Council gave a positive evaluation and approval of the publication's performance emphasizing, however, the need to take to heart with the criticisms and recommendations put forth during the session. as regards the overall improvement of ZYCIE PARTII. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 86 p 2] /12232

YOUTH IN PRE-CONGRESS CAMPAIGN--The PZPR CC Party Studies Center sponsored a seminar for the chairmen of the Youth Commissions of the Voivodship Committees. Also present were the directors of the sections for youth affairs. The seminar dealt with the task of the party in its work with youth in the period leading up to the 10th Party Congress. W. Swirgon, PZPR CC Secretary, and others met with the participants. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Feb 86 p2] /12232

TEACHING 'HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS' EMPHASIZED--Another in a series of meetings of the PZPR CC Group for Historical Education Affairs took place on 27 February 1986. Professor Marian Orzechowski, candidate member of the PZPR CC Politburo, chaired the meeting. The participants discussed the main problems encountered in the formation of a historical consciousness in Polish society. It was noted that positive results in historical education, especially among the younger generation, demand firm opposition to the distortion of history--most particularly of recent history--by forces unfriendly to the Polish People's Republic and to socialism. Historical consciousness on the part of society continues to be an arena of political and ideological confrontation. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Feb 86 p 2] /12232

SOVIET PEDAGOGICAL COOPERATION--A delegation from the Soviet Ministry of Education visited Poland 24-28 February 1986. They had discussions with the Department of Science and Higher Education and learned of the work of the higher pedagogical schools in Opole and Drakow. A cooperation agreement was signed on 28 February 1986 between the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education and the Soviet Ministry of Education for the current year. The agreement calls for direct cooperation of the pedagogical schools of both nations. The Soviet Ministry of Education will send 30 lecturers to Polish schools, who specialize in Russian language and literature (among other things), in order to help prepare and improve the qualifications of Polish instructors of the Russian language and of textbooks and other educational aids in teaching Russian. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1-2 Mar 86 p 2] /12232

RAKOWSKI, GDANSK AKTIV MEET--The aktiv of social and cultural workers of the tri-city area met on 28 February 1986 in Gdansk to discuss important socio-political and economic problems in the context of the international situation. The meeting was chaired by candidate member of the PZPR CC Politburo, first secretary of the PZPR Gdansk Voivodship Committee, Stanislaw Bejger, deputy marshall of the Sejm, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, underscored the fundamental importance of the 27th CPSU Congress and its far-reaching influence on the process of building an atmosphere conducive to peace and international cooperation. In describing the major national issues and in response to questions posed to him, Rakowski touched upon the following: payment of the national foreign debt and its influence on the development of the Polish economy; the church-state relationship; initiation of economic reforms; the changes at universities and the role of the intelligentsia in Polish national life. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1-2 Mar 86 p 2] /12232

POLISH-CUBAN COOPERATION--A cooperative plan between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Poland and Cuba for the years 1986-1990 was signed on 28 February 1986. J. Kinast, deputy minister, signed for the Polish side, and M. Mora Diaz, ambassador, signed for the Cubans. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1-2 Mar 86 p 2] /12232

FSO YOUTH ACTIVISTS—On 2 March 1986 a meeting was held of the founders of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], established 10 years ago, at the FSO in Warsaw. The meeting was called on the initiative of the ZSMP Factory Administration of FSO. The participants of the meeting accepted the appeal directed to all Polish youth, which states in part: "In desiring to honor the work of the 10th PZPR Congress and the 10th anniversary of the ZSMP, we call for a universal and well-organized participation on the part of all of us in the actions of the ZSMP on 26 April 1986." Jerze Szmajdziński, chairman of the Main Administration of ZSMP, and representatives of FSO's party directory and organization, took part in the meeting. On Sunday [2 March 1986] ZSMP members of the Zeran factory and their guests put in several hours of volunteer production work. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3 Mar 86 p 2] /12232

BOYSCOUT INSTRUCTOR CONFERENCE—A Central Instructors Conference of the Union of Polish Boy Scouts [ZHP] was held in Olesnica from 28 February to 2 March 1986. Delegates from all centers of ZHP instruction cadres discussed problems associated with ideological-educational activities among children and youth. Attention was focused on the foundations for the future as outlined in the PZPR Program Draft, and also on the issues which the scout instructors wish to contribute to the declaration on youth. The following issues were given primary attention: the future of the national educational system, the concept of educating youth for society's needs, the need to inculcate youth with an understanding of the new phase of scientific-technological progress, and the implementation of youth's idea of life at the turn of the 20th-21st centuries. Leszek Miller, director of the Department for Youth Affairs, Physical Culture and Tourism of the PZPR CC, took part in the conference summations. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Mar 86 p 2] /12232

GRUNWALD COMMITTEE MEETS—On 3 March 1986, in Olsztyn, a session of the Grunwald Citizens Committee met to discuss the tourist management of the Grunwald battlefield site and access routes. The meeting emphasized the need to properly care for the site of the historic battle, to disseminate and strengthen the Grunwald idea in society, especially among youth. Kazimierz Barcikowski, deputy chairman of the Council of State and chairman of the National Grunwald Committee, took part in the session. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Mar 86 p 9] /12232

MINERS, MINISTRY RATIFY COOPERATION—The ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry and the Federation of Miners Trade Unions signed rules of cooperation on 3 March 1986. This federation presently comprises together 435,000 members from over 300 trade organizations. The agreement specified the range and principles of cooperation of the department with the unionists, and simultaneously ratified the already established forms of cooperation of certain unions with the administration of the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Mar 86 p 9] /12232

SOVIET CULTURE DISSEMINATION—With the idea of popularizing Soviet culture, the Krakow administration of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society has decided to open a "repertoire bank," which will collect the best and newest suggestions from a variety of artistic fields in the USSR; among others, dramatic and musical works, folklore exhibits and the like. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Mar 86 p 9] /12232

30 May 1986

SZALAJDA TASS STATEMENT--Moscow [PAP]--Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda, in a statement to TASS, underscored the innovative approach of the 27th CSU Congress to the task of accelerating the development of socialism. He also expressed the conviction that the documents endorsed at the congress will become a good foundation for defining the course of closer ties between Poland and the Soviet Union. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Mar 86 p 7] /12232

PRISON CONDITIONS, NUMBERS--A press conference held on 10 March 1986 in Warsaw was devoted to the conditions in penal institutions. First deputy director of Penal Institutions, Colonel Stanislaw Wrona, stated that the Social Penitentiary Councils are now active in all prisons. Last year almost 11,500 inmates took advantage of passes. As was noted, at the end of January 1986 there were 113,000 persons incarcerated in penal institutions, including sentenced prisoners and those under temporary arrest. There are 159 persons currently under arrest and in prison for offenses of a non-criminal nature. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Mar 86 p 5] /12232

TRADE UNION MEETING--A reports-election conference which concluded the 3-year term of office for the officers of the Self-Managing Independent Trade Union of Workers at the Marcel Nowotki Iron and Steelworks in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski (Kielce Voivodship) was held on 11 March 1986. In attendance were 262 delegates representing almost 11,000 members of the union. Alfred Miodowicz, OPZZ chairman, took part in the conference and dealt with many problems brought up in the course of the debate. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Mar 86 p 2] /12232

KRAKOW PZPR COMMITTEE MEETING--The Krakow PZPR Committee conducted its final meeting of the party aktiv of the region. The meeting was concerned with small-scale manufacturing--including the Polonia firms--in terms of disciplining their activities and their compliance with legal norms. During the meeting special emphasis was placed on the need to more effectively combat speculation, wastefulness, theft of public property and undeniable cases of unjust and inordinate self-enrichment. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Mar 86 p 2] /12232

PZPR CC INTERNAL AFFAIRS MEETING--A meeting of the PZPR CC Internal Affairs Commission was held to discuss changes in the party's membership figures and class composition. The discussion underscored the fact that the PZPR is a party of the masses, numbering 2,115,000 members and candidate members. Its primary organizations are active in all social and professional circles. Party ranks are steadily increasing. Last year the party accepted 63,000 candidate members, of which 51.5 percent were workers and peasants. At least half were young people under age 29. The commission discussed the account of its activities during the period from the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. Tadeusz Porebski, CC Secretary and Politburo member, chaired the discussion. Also taking part were: J. Biuszkowski, K. Rokoszewski, Z. Draminski, M. Pabian, Cz. Borowski, A. Kwiatkowski, Z. Daniluk, M. Lubczynski, J. Dabrowski, M. Wysocki, M. Kaminski. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Mar 86 p 2] /12232

AMBASSADOR TO BULGARIA--Deputy chairman of the Council of State, Kazimierz Barcikowski, met with the newly-named ambassador of the PPR to Bulgaria, Wieslaw Bek, on 13 March 1986. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Mar 86 p 2] /12232

HIGHER EDUCATION DISCUSSIONS--The Ministry of Science and Higher Education met with the newly-elected Main Council of Science and Higher Education on 13 March 1986. They discussed the scientific-research activities of the universities for the years 1986-1990. The minister of science and higher education, Professor Benon Miskiewicz, presented the current issues under consideration at the ministry, while the chairman of the council described the main areas of the council's work. Both sides underscored the importance of close cooperation between the ministry and the council in effectively implementing the resolutions of the 24th Plenum of the PZPR CC and the 3rd Congress of Polish Science. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Mar 86 p 2] /12232

RATIFICATION DOCUMENTS EXCHANGED--On 13 March 1986, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was the site of an exchange of documents ratifying the agreement between Poland and the Soviet Union regarding the Baltic Sea. The agreement provides for the demarcation of territorial waters, economic zones, zones for deep sea and continental shelf fishing in the Baltic Sea, signed in Moscow on 17 July 1985. The act of exchange was executed by the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Henryk Jaroszek and the Soviet ambassador, Vladimir Brovikov. The agreement is valid from the date of exchange of the ratified documents. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Mar 86 p 2] /12232

HELICOPTER CRASHES INTO BALTIC--Warsaw, 3 April--Four people were killed and three wounded out of 19 people on board a Polish helicopter which plunged to the Baltic Sea near GDR's shoreline. The survivors were lifted from the water by one of the tugboats servicing a drilling platform there. The "Sztorm - 2" rescue vessel left Swinoujscie for the site of the catastrophe. The helicopter, on lease from the aviation service enterprise in Gdnask, plunged to the sea for hitherto [passage indistinct] [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1830 GMT 3 Apr 86 LD]

JUSTICE MINISTER IN AUSTRIA--Vienna, 16 April--A delegation of the Polish Justice Ministry, headed by Minister Lech Domeracki, has paid an official visit to Austria at the invitation from Austrian Justice Minister Harald Ofner. Today, the Polish minister was received by the President of Austria Rudolf Kirchschlaeger and met with Austrian Chancellor Fred Sinowatz. He held talks with the president of the Austrian Parliament's National Council and chairman of the Austrian Trade Union Federation Anton Benya. During working talks, Domeracki and Ofner evaluated cooperation between justice ministries of both countries and discussed the assumptions for the planned agreement on cooperation between both ministries. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2220 GMT 18 Apr 86 LD]

JOURNALIST ASSOCIATION APPOINTMENTS--The main board of the PPR Association of Journalists [SDPRL -- FBIS] held a plenary meeting in Olsztyn. The plenum evaluated the 33-year activity of the association. Marian Kruczkowski has been elected deputy chairman of the SDPRL main board. Andrzej Ziemiński has been elected secretary general of the main board. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 15 Apr 86 LD]

ORZECZOWSKI SPEAKS TO CONFERENCE--An ideological conference on the subject, The PZPR Toward the Basic Issues of the Contemporary World, began in Warsaw today. Scientists, members of the congress commission, representatives of party publishing houses, party actives from the Warsaw city and Warsaw [word indistinct] work enterprises, and youth representatives are taking part in it. The conference was opened by Janusz Kubasiewicz, first secretary of the Warsaw Party Committee. Next, Marian Orzechowski, member of the PZPR CC Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, delivered a speech opening the discussion. Today's conference is one of the ideological and theoretical conferences on the draft PZPR program. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 11 Apr 86 LD]

CZYREK DELEGATION VISITS FRANKFURT--Berlin, 20 April--A delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party to the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, with Political Bureau Member, PUWP CC Secretary Josef Czyrek visited the Frankfurt on Oder district today. The delegation laid a wreath at the Glory Monument located at the Remembrance site on Seelow Hills, paying homage to the fallen, and afterwards toured a museum commemorating the battle fought here 41 years ago. The main accent of the PUWP delegation's visit to Frankfurt on Oder was a friendship rally held under the motto of further consolidation of friendship and cooperation between the two parties, states and nations. Touching upon this subject in his address, member of the PUWP delegation, PUWP CC Alternate Member, First Secretary of the Katowice PUWP Voivodship Committee Bogumil Perensztajn stressed that both the numerous agreements on economic, scientific and technological cooperation signed recently by Poland and the GDR, and their implementation created a new quality in mutual relations. The speaker also pointed attention to the great significance attached by Poland to direct contacts between the citizens of both states. Afterwards, the delegation toured a scientific and research department of a semiconductor factory in Frankfurt. The delegation also attended a concert performed by a combined orchestra from music schools from the policy city of Zielona Gora and Frankfurt on Oder. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1800 GMT 20 Apr 86 LD]

MOKRZYSZCZAK GROUP ENDS VISIT--Copenhagen, 18 April--A delegation of the PUWP with Political Bureau Alternate Member, CC Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak ended today its 4-day visit to Denmark at the invitation from the Danish Communist Party (DKP) CC. The delegation held talks with leadership of the DKP CC and met with party leading activists in Copenhagen. Polish guests briefed their hosts about the present problems of development of socialism building in Poland, and mainly about preparations for the 10th PUWP Congress. The meeting focused on issues of further tightening of contacts with the DKP, broadening of inter-party cooperation and relations for the better mutual knowledge and understanding of the situation in Poland. The sides expressed concern at and condemned tendencies of confrontation in the U.S. politics evidenced by the U.S. recent aggression against Libya. Mokrzyszczak also met with member of the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark Lasse Budtz who is the foreign policy and defence spokesman for this party. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1752 GMT 18 Apr 86 LD]

POLITICS

ROMANIA

NEED FOR INCREASED PARTY ACTIVITY IN AGRICULTURE SEEN

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Mar 86, pp 1, 4

[Article by Constantin Varvara and Lucian Ciubotaru: "Increasing the Quality of Activities for Guidance and Review - A Constant Concern, One of Great Responsibility"]

[Text] The development of intensive agriculture, one of high productivity and efficiency based on modern, industrial bases constitutes a vital requirement for the general progress of our society. At the Enlarged Plenary Session of the National Council of Agriculture, the Food Industry, Sylviculture and the Management of Water Resources, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in this regard: "Within the framework of general development in our country, agriculture occupies an important place as one of the fundamental, decisive branches of socialist and communist construction. Beginning with the intensive development of agriculture in the eighth five year plan, we will have to work with all firmness for the purpose of achieving a new agrarian revolution, one which will require a transformation of agricultural organization and production and the powerful increase of production and the transformation of the manner of thinking itself, of life and of work for all the workers in agriculture and for all the peasantry."

There are sufficient grounds to express the conviction that the objectives of the new agrarian revolution and the intensive development of agriculture in the new five year plan are completely achievable. Our socialist agriculture has a solid technical-material base and significant resources of manpower as represented by a peasantry rich in tradition in agricultural production and by a strong group of specialists who have experience, as well as by an adequate organizational framework. For the purpose of fully putting to use this powerful technical-material and human potential and the great resources which our agriculture has, the speech of the secretary general of the party-- through the wealth of ideas, guidelines and directives contained in it-- represents a clear and specific program of action for the organs and organizations of the party involved in attaining agricultural production. In this context, the party organization in the Ministry of Agriculture has special responsibilities in mobilizing all the workers in the ministry for the fulfillment of the complex tasks facing this branch: the powerful growth of grain production by way of applying the most modern technologies and introducing high yield variety crops; the expansion of the use of inserted crops and the increase in the production of technical crops; the carrying out of special programs; the increase in the numbers of animals in zootechny and the improvement of animal breeds parallel with the development of the fodder base; the improvement of the production

potential of the land by way of extending projects for irrigation, draining, and combatting soil erosion; the radical reduction of production costs; the much more firm application of the principles of material incentives and overall work agreements; and the good use and coordination of personnel and specialists.

Naturally, the exemplary achievement of these tasks is also influenced by the manner in which the specialists from the Ministry of Agriculture work for the implementation of the party decisions and the laws of the country, as well as special programs; guide and assist the activities in the counties and the production units; effectively intervene to resolve certain problems which appear; express themselves as promoters of advanced experiences; and militate for their spread. In essence, we are talking about moving the center of gravity of the specialists' activities from the ministry to the field, about carrying out an activity filled with high revolutionary spirit and about responsibility corresponding to the requirements and tasks formulated by the secretary general of the party for this stage of development for agriculture.

Can these requirements be found in the political-organizational work carried out by the party committee and by the base organizations in the ministry and in the activities of the communists there?

Let us examine things in turn. It is, certainly, worth noting that in this ministry special attention is given to understanding, mastering and applying — and this goes for all communists and all the personnel — the tasks that have been established by the party leadership and the laws which regulate the activities of each sector. In this regard, the party committee frequently organizes training sessions for the bureaus of the base organizations and has personnel from the ministry leadership present reports to the party aktiv. In these sessions, tasks are presented that have been newly formulated by the secretary general of the party at the plenary sessions of the RCP Central Committee and the working conferences held at the central level, as well as on the occasion of working visits to agricultural units.

At the same time, it should be pointed out that in bureau sessions, party plenary sessions and in party general assemblies that took place year important problems were discussed linked to preparations for the agricultural campaigns, the provision of repairs to equipment and the organization of irrigation, discussions which concluded with the adoption of political-organizational measures designed to lead to increasing participation of communists and other workers in the ministry in the achievement of the plan in agriculture and to improving the efficiency of trips into the field in pursuit of the manner in which production tasks were fulfilled. Through a better integration in the major problems of the counties and through a more profound knowledge of the realities and specific nature of the regions in which they worked, it can be said that the communists and workers of the ministry succeeded to a good degree in acquitting the attributes with which they were entrusted.

Nonetheless, in agriculture there was a series of shortcomings which last year resulted in a number of counties and units obtaining a level of production below

the possibilities available. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Enlarged Plenary Session of the National Council of Agriculture, the Food Industry, Sylviculture and the Management of Water Resources, even under the less favorable climatic conditions of last year if work had been done with full responsibility in all the sectors of agriculture, in all the units and in all the counties, larger harvests would have been obtained.

As a result of the discussions that took place within the above-mentioned plenary session, the shortcomings that were criticized are due to the Ministry of Agriculture, the party organizations, and the communists in the ministry who did not work with the necessary persistence and responsibility to follow up and resolve the problems in this sector, to strengthen order and discipline, to precisely adhere to the established technologies and to carry out projects on time and of good quality, and to deliver those products that had been contracted to the state fund.

With complete clarity, at the recent Enlarged Plenary Session of the National Council of Agriculture, Sylviculture and the Management of Water Resources comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that the principal duty of personnel and specialists in agriculture is to do everything to demonstrate their abilities and knowledge by way of the production and results that they obtain. Activities in agriculture are carried out directly in the units, on the farms and in the fields, where the fate of production is decided. "The agronomic engineer," pointed out comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, "must be a person from morning to dark -- and when it is necessary even at night -- out in the fields. He must understand and know the land, understand and know the crops, understand and know the animals! This is a good agricultural specialist, a good agronomist, zootechnician, veterinarian and so forth! From the office you cannot understand the needs of the crops or the animals! Only if you know, if you see what the situation is can you determine what must be done from one moment to the next. This is valid for those in the Ministry of Agriculture and for those in research."

It is as clear as it possibly can be that the presence of specialists from the ministry in the field, the efficiency of their interventions, the effectiveness and responsibility with which they resolve the problems on the spot, and the insistence with which the leadership of the department and the ministry subjects them and pursues their resolution represent essential facets of the work of the specialists and basic attributes of the ministry. But, this express approach to these activities rarely appears in the concerns of the party committee in the ministry and hardly at all in some of the base organizations. Similarly, the manner of fulfilling the special programs is not seen in the subject of the communists' discussions except in general formulations in different materials. As such, there is no organic blending between the two components of the specialists' activities in the ministry -- current activity and future activity -- involving in most cases the pursuit of the evolution of projects during the campaign itself without giving the appropriate attention to achieving the provisions in future programs. Clearly, during the peak periods of one campaign or another the center of gravity must fall on these activities, but not a single moment must be lost regarding the permanent issues: land improvement projects, seed production, organizing the land, setting crop regions and promoting modern technologies.

It is good that in all base organizations they have established the procedure where by the specialists present reports regarding their activities. Unfortunately, however, this practice has stopped at a certain level. If last year those personnel with responsible positions -- deputy ministers, state secretaries, directors general -- did make their presence felt more in the general meetings of the communists, as well as at the discussions in these meetings, they were still sufficiently sporadic in presenting reports in their positions as party members regarding the manner in which they fulfilled their attributes and responsibilities. And, according to the statutory provisions each party member, regardless of the position that they occupy, must periodically report before the party organization regarding the activities they carry out, an express requirement frequently stressed by the secretary general of the party.

From the points of view expressed by the members of the party organizations and by specialists, we see that there still is not a clear picture regarding the area of problems which the representative of the ministry must resolve in the field. Thus, some expressed their opinion that a specialist in the field of horticulture must be concerned only with horticulture since he, for example, would not have the necessary knowledge in order to understand and intervene in the case of a violation of the law on land development. Others, on the contrary, state that the workers in the ministry should not go out from the ministry into the field with a narrow, departmental view, but should work so as to resolve other problems besides pursuing their specialty. You do not have to be a mechanical engineer to understand when the plow is incorrectly used during plowing. Anybody who works in agriculture knows -- or should know -- how this basic work is done and upon which the level of production depends to a great degree. As was also pointed out in the annual report of the party committee, we think it is good to establish a better cooperation between the responsible persons in the general directorates in the ministry and even between the specialists towards having a unified view on one problem or another.

Without a doubt, there is merit in the fact that the vast majority of the specialists in the ministry are located for most of the year in the field, being convinced that only a permanent link with reality gives them the opportunity to work in full knowledge of the case. With regards to the length of the field visits, if the visits of these specialists do not constitute a subject for discussion, the efficiency of their presence -- which sometimes exceeds 200 days -- calls for a more profound analysis. It raises the question: Is it or is it not necessary for a representative of the ministry to stay for 2-3 months in a row or even more in the same county? Some specialists are of the opinion that long presence in the same county leads, on one hand, to an overlapping of his work with that of the local agricultural organs and to the tendency of "getting used to" certain states of affairs that are negative and, as a result, to not correctly reporting to the leadership of the ministry the real state of affairs. On the other hand, however, some regions are lacking the absolutely necessary assistance of a specialist from the ministry. For example, one of the two specialists who are responsible for chemical fertilizing was assigned last year for 200 days to Constanta County. Was there no other need for him in other counties? Clearly, yes.

Certainly, the activities for guidance and review that were carried out by the specialists in the field involve great responsibilities in the timely understanding of shortcomings and their prompt and complete resolution. Last year, there were situations -- as was also pointed out in the discussions of the plenary session of the party committee with the aktiv -- when in some units there were serious violations of technological discipline or of the plan, stealing, waste and issuing of erroneous reports. Not in a few cases these inadmissible states of affairs were discovered by other party and state organs although workers from the ministry were in the same units. They did not, however, analyze all the shortcomings in the activities of these units with a sense of responsibility and they did not notify the leadership of the departments or the general directorates or the leadership of the ministry. Or, if they did they felt that their job had been done once they had learned of these negative aspects. It is necessary for the future for the party organizations and the leadership of the ministry both in instructional sessions and in establishing the subjects for review to keep in mind the requirement of noting negative aspects in units and of increasing the insistence of the specialists in order to take decisive measures to eliminate the shortcomings that are found.

The discovery and spread of positive experiences constitutes one of the main duties of the specialists. There are numerous examples of units and counties where because particularly of the use of certain advanced methods and technologies large production levels have been obtained, but known to others only as results. We can show in this regard the experience gained by numerous units, such as the Balaciu State Agricultural Enterprise [SAE], the Smirna Agricultural Production Cooperative [APC] (in Ialomita County) and the Cenei SAE (in Timis County) which produced between 2,753 and 4,580 kg more per hectare than their neighboring units at Andrasesti SAE and Grivita APC (Ialomita) and the Bogda APC (Timis). Or another example: the Gropeni APC in Braila County produced 1,000 kg more wheat per hectare than the neighboring unit -- the Tichilesti APC; the Ulmeni APC in Calarasi County an additional 1,400 kg of wheat per hectare compared to the neighboring cooperative in the town of Curcani. Although having similar or even identical climate and soil conditions, these gaps can have no other explanation than the fact that in those units having lower production they did not give the appropriate attention to the crops, to seeding during optimum periods, to plant densities and to providing quality seeds, as well as to thoroughly organizing the harvest to avoid any waste. Despite the fact that the experiences of the top units are known, they were not presented in detail through the various forms of propaganda nor directly at the scene by the ministry's specialists. We have the question: Which good experiences that you have found did you promote? The answers from many specialists were inconclusive.

In differing from the other fields in the sphere of material production, activities in agriculture have a separate nature: the production cycle is carried out throughout an entire year. The projects differ from one season to another and the demands on material and human resources call for rapid changes in rates, while the climatic conditions -- difficult to forecast -- bring about situations for which we must have in mind thoroughly prepared, possible solutions on a timely basis regardless of whether or not they will be used later. According to this specific nature it is necessary for the improvement of work in guidance

and review carried out by the specialists to occupy a basic place within the framework of concerns of the party organization in the Ministry of Agriculture. As such, the party committee and the base organizations in the ministry must systematically deal with different aspects concerning the improvement of the work style and methods of the specialists in close connection with the activities they carry out in the production units, giving this activity dynamism, flexibility, initiative and, above all else, a high revolutionary spirit.

Naturally, the guidance and review activities of the specialists in the Ministry of Agriculture include -- by virtue of their complexity -- other qualitative facets. It is important for them to become essential components in the practical work of the party organization, the communists and all the workers in the ministry in order to make -- in the spirit of the requirements formulated by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu -- a substantial contribution to carrying out the new agrarian revolution and to more powerfully increasing crop and animal production for the purpose of increasing the contribution of this basic branch of the national economy to the multilateral progress of the country.

8724

CSO: 2700/131

YUGOSLAVIA

OPINION SURVEY RATES FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

[Editorial Report] Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian on 20 April 1986, pages 12-16, offers the results of an opinion survey concerning the effectiveness of the outgoing Federal Executive Council. The survey, like similar surveys in 1983 and 1984, consisted of telephone inquiries to 100 random telephone numbers scattered among the various republics and Serbia's two autonomous provinces in proportion to the number of households in each. The results are as follows:

	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1986</u>
1. To what extent has the Federal Executive Council justified your expectations?			
a. Completely	36	30	19
b. Partially	49	68	54
c. Not at all	10	11	23
2. Why would you reproach the Federal Executive Council?			
a. For not having halted inflation	25	25	52
b. For not having normalized supplies	40	13	0
c. For giving in to pressures from republics and provinces	29	26	13
d. For ineffectiveness in implementing decrees and laws	0	0	29
e. For not having reduced unemployment	0	0	5
3. What most prevented the Federal Executive Council from working better?			
a. Lack of genuine ideas	21	10	0
b. Insufficient authority	15	11	0
c. Slowness in consensus-seeking among republics and provinces	54	50	52
d. Indecisiveness and ineffectiveness	8	27	27
e. Economic crisis	0	0	14

	1983	1984	1986
4. To what extent has Milka Planinc fulfilled your expectations chairing the Federal Executive Council?			
a. Completely	50	41	47
b. Partially	29	54	35
c. Nohow	2	4	11
d. Don't know	19	1	7
5. Who is responsible for failure to implement the economic stabilization program?			
a. Assembly of Yugoslavia	--	42	13
b. LCY Central Committee	--	36	14
c. Federal Executive Council	--	37	20
d. Republics, provinces	--	39	16
e. All the above combined	--	0	55
f. The economy	--	40	7
g. All Yugoslav citizens	--	0	12
h. Don't know	--	2	4
6. When will we resolve basic economic differences?			
a. By the end of 1986	7	2	0
b. In a few years	46	46	26
c. Uncertain when	40	50	72
d. Don't know	7	1	2

/6662

CSO: 2800/245

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

SCHOOL REFORM EFFORT—The result of the 10-year efforts toward reforming education has evoked more criticism than thanks. And that which has been achieved after many discussions is now shown to be a problematic value. Such is the case with the unified educational "core" instruction in the mother tongue and literature with which almost everyone is dissatisfied after many years of haggling. The recent meeting at the beginning of this month in Belgrade on unifying the educational systems showed that there is very little unity indeed. In a study prepared for this occasion, Stevan Berdanov, professor at the Belgrade Faculty of Political Sciences, presents a long list of differences—in the number and kinds of subjects, length of study and requirements for achieving certain levels of specialized education, the content of subject matter, and much more. For instance, in teacher training schools the number of subjects vary from 14 to Skopje, to 25 in Novi Sad; physics students in Pristina have 21 subjects, those in Sarajevo 40, and those in Zagreb 50 in their field. Also, the share of current expenditures for education in total national income, according to the Federal Institute for Statistics, declined from 5 percent in 1970 to 3.5 percent in 1984. [Excerpt] [Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Apr 86 pp 22-23] /9274

UNEDUCATED WORKERS—Nearly 10 percent of the adult population is illiterate in our country, almost one-third have not completed eight grades of school, over 6.5 million employed persons have not completed elementary school, and over 220,000 employed persons even today are illiterate. Seven times fewer workers are educated today than in 1965, and four times fewer than in 1975...; this, at a time...of need...for new technology, the need to change the organization of work and to improve the unfavorable qualification structure of employees. In all documents beginning with those issued by the LC and youth organization, it is said that illiteracy will be uprooted by the 1970's, then the 1980's, and finally by 1985. But the situation is not changing. [Excerpt] [Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 25 Apr 86 p 6] /9274

CSO: 2800/243

END

JPRS-EER-86-081

2 JUNE 1986

East Europe Report

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BULGARIA

ARTICLE BY SOVIET GENERAL VIEWS U.S. USE OF TURKEY FOR SDI

AU11638 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Apr 86 p 3

[Soviet Major General F. Andreyev article, "specially for RABOTNICHESKO DELO through Novosti": "The Teller Sensation--Will the Territory of Turkey Be Utilized to Implement the American Military Space Programs?"]

[Text] The militarization of space was one of the central issues at the conference of representatives of NATO countries that was held recently in Munich. In the discussion at this conference the tone was dictated by the American delegation, which included Fred Ilke, U.S. deputy secretary for defense, and Edward Teller, the well-known "star wars" supporter and scientific "hawk."

In his speech F. Ilke insisted on an acceleration of the fulfillment of the "star wars" program and on the more active participation in it of Western European firms and concerns, motivating this by the mythical "Soviet threat." According to him, the creation of a broad-scale antimissile defense system with component elements based in space would ensure "greater security on the planet." He did not conceal the fact that, simultaneously with creating a "space antimissile shield," the United States intends to continue to increase its strategic offensive weapons in the future.

At the conference, a sensation was almost caused by Teller's statement concerning Washington's plans to use the territory of Turkey for the requirements of the U.S. "star wars" program. More concretely, he spoke about plans for a system to destroy Soviet missiles with a laser beam from ground stations. The beam will be reflected by a special mirror positioned in space. According to Teller, for this purpose these stations must be located in a region close to the Soviet missile sites with good climatic conditions. "If we succeed in locating four laser stations on Turkish territory, where there are so many bright days and the atmosphere is clear, then this country will become the most suitable for waging 'star wars,'" stated Teller.

It is legitimate to ask the question: Had this statement been agreed in advance with the Government of Turkey? Surely it graphically expresses the imperialist ambitions of the present Washington administration and is a blatant manifestation of its neoglobalist policy of crude interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states. The least one can say is that such plans are at variance with Turkey's national interests. E. Teller's statement directly confirms the U.S. military's aspiration to utilize Turkish territory as a launching platform for waging "star wars." Evidently, after extorting the consent of certain of their West European allies, the governing circles of the United States are now striving at any price to increase the number of such allies in other regions as well. It is a fact that this intensifies the danger of making irreversible the process of creating and multiplying space strike weapons, and raises a new barrier on the road to resolving the problem of the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. But this seems to be Washington's least worry.

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CSO: 2200/115

POLITICS

BULGARIA

GORAN GOTEV VIEWS GOVERNMENT'S BALKAN POLICY

AU081253 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Apr 86 p 5

[Goran Gotev Article: "An Evil or A Good Omen"]

[Excerpts] This was the night when Halley's comet appeared on the sky. People watched the "tailed star" and said that it is an omen of fate, of wars and death. The omen of the skies was hardly erased from their anxious memory, when people heard the village drummers reading the proclamations about the common march of several neighboring peoples against the centuries-old enslaver. The same inspirers who for many centuries guided the minds and hands of the Turkish sultans later provoked the fratricidal war among the same peoples. The fields and mountains of the Balkans were covered by thousands of corpses, by thousands of people who were killed by disease, starvation, and war injuries.

The Balkan peoples shared their historical misfortunes, because the causes of these misfortunes were the same—the same imperialist forces used to sow hostility and hatred, as well as feelings of revenge against each other. These feelings of hatred, however, were not directed against those who were truly responsible for the misfortunes of the Balkan peoples, not against those foreign governments which imposed the borders, cut off territories, which separated brothers from each other, and trampled upon the peoples' ideals—hatred was not directed against them, but against each other. In those days only the socialist parties—and following the October Revolution—the communist parties—used to tell the truth. They showed the way. But whom could the Balkan peoples rely upon in those days when in their own countries they were oppressed, exploited, and deprived of their rights? When the Balkan peoples finally understood that the things that bring them closer together are much stronger than those which separate them, imperialism once more changed its color, like a monstrous chameleon. It decided to take advantage of the Balkan peoples' aspiration for understanding and cooperation, in order to direct them against the first country of the victorious workers class. This is how the plans for the notorious Balkan entente were concocted.

It is true that at the climax of the "cold war" a new effort was made to put together a "Balkan pact" and that the territories of Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus, were submitted for American and NATO bases, that for the first time in history the deadly nuclear weapons were deployed on these territories

and that the Balkans were once more transformed into a diminished copy of our contemporary, divided, manyfaceted, and restless world. It is, however, also true, that the Balkan states, which are part of the powerful defense alliance of the Warsaw Pact, became an invincible support for the peaceful aspirations of all peoples on our European peninsula, that the will of our neighbors not to admit any foreign matters in their homes has grown. Let us just recall the decision of the Greek Government to cancel the country's membership in the NATO military organizations and the struggle of both the Greek and Cypriot peoples against the presence of American and NATO bases on their territories. Let us also recall the historic declaration of Andreas Papandreou, the Greek premier, who stated that, as to Greece, the threat against its national territory does not come from the socialist north, but from the NATO policy of its neighbor country Turkey, which is an ally. This political declaration—a model of statesmanlike wisdom and civil courage—was actually an omen of the ensuing, decisive and drastic change in Balkan relations. This change did not come unexpectedly and was by no means surprising. It was prepared thanks to the consistent and constructive policy of peace and good-neighborly relations of socialist Bulgaria, but also thanks to the policy of the other socialist Balkan states, as well as, above all, thanks to the purpose-oriented efforts of the Soviet Union.

It is by no means a coincidence that the proposal of our party and state leadership for the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace and peaceful cooperation, into a nuclear-free zone, into a zone without enmities and threats, were submitted to the occasion of the celebration of the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state, by one of the most ancient states on the European continent, one which has contributed to the history of this continent, which has even given a name to the peninsula—the name of our mountainous backbone. Peace and good-neighborly relations were the first assignment of our young diplomacy, following 9 September 1944. However these principles became the very embodiment of our foreign policy, after the irreversible days of the April plenum. Both with its economic power and with its indisputable international prestige the word of socialist Bulgaria has already achieved high value in the international dialogue and our country is a respected and irreplaceable partner in bilateral and multi-lateral cooperation.

The April plenum foreign policy has numerous aspects, but two among them are of decisive importance. During the memorable three decades which have elapsed since the April plenum, our foreign policy efforts, here in the Balkans, as well as far from our territories, were always guided by the demand for a deeply realistic policy, and by our concern for the protection of peace—our common cause. We are far from the idyllic image of the Balkans as a paradise of good intentions and noble designs, but we are also far from thinking it impossible to attain an all-Balkan agreement. We are still burdened by the heritage of the past, the barriers of distrust; the remnants of the past oppression of our consciousness. The same old "well-wishers" still act against us with their nuclear weapons in their luggage, well-wishers who transform the home of the Balkan peoples into a target, instead of a sanctuary. However, the voice of Bulgaria is a voice of common sense and action. It appeals to statesmanlike wisdom and goodwill. This truth will undoubtedly be confirmed at the 13th BCP Congress.

POLITICS

BULGARIA

NOVA SVETLINA EDITOR ON 'REVIVAL PROCESS'

AU111504 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 8 April on page 3 carries the 1,200-word "Statement of Comrade Kamen Kalinov, chief editor of the newspaper NOVA SVETLINA (NEW LIGHT) at the 13th BCP Congress, read on 3 April. Kalinov begins his statement by dwelling on the successes achieved by the BCP in various areas. He stresses "the great role and significance of the spring April breeze in fruitfully developing Bulgarian journalism," and expresses "deep gratitude to the party, the Central Committee, and Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally, for the paternal care."

He describes the tasks of Bulgarian journalists, stressing the importance of the experience of Soviet journalists. Dwelling on his newspaper's activity, Kalinov depicts the topics developed by the reporters, and the efforts to expand contact with readers.

Turning to the "process of revival," Kalinov points out that "this is a natural, legitimate and irreversible process. It is a continuation and integral part of the Bulgarian national revival, which develops in our people's bosom and in our souls and hearts, as children of these Bulgarians who have been subjected to a cruel and compulsive Islamization and assimilation by the Ottoman oppressor."

Kalinov continues to say: "The process of revival is closely connected to the strengthening of the Bulgarian socialist nation and with the party's April strategy on the class-party, patriotic, and international education of the Bulgarian people. Engulfed by this historical process, the population could liberate itself from the burden of the past and manifest its Bulgarian national self-awareness, thanks to the scientifically based party policy and the conditions which have been created for developing and self-implementing on the part of the population as equal, full-fledged, highly educated, and enlightened managers and constructors of socialist Bulgaria." Kalinov stresses that "this process began immediately after Bulgaria's liberation from the Turkish yoke," and expresses the hope that it will inspire many creators from the sphere of intellectual activity. He completes his statement saying:

"Certain reactionary circles recently manifest excessive nervousness in connection with the process of revival. They assume the right to themselves to determine our national belonging, instead of leaving this to us, and interfere in our motherland's internal affairs."

"We, journalists, unmask and will unmask every attempt to interfere in our internal affairs. We have made our choice for ever in favor of our ancient Bulgarian roots and spirit, and in favor of our dear fatherland, Bulgaria. Those who engage in slander must understand the words of our great poet Ivan Vazov: 'One cannot extinguish the unextinguishable.' The sooner they understand this, the better for them."

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CSO: 2200/115

POLITICS

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV, TANSON MESSAGE TO HUNGARIAN LEADERS

AU071927 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following telegram to Janos Kadar, MSZMP Central Committee general secretary, to Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic, and to Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic:

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on behalf of the Bulgarian people, and on our own behalf we convey to the MSZMP Central Committee, to the Presidium, and to the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, to the entire Hungarian people, and to you in person the most sincere congratulations and greetings on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of Hungary's liberation.

During the past period, the Hungarian working people, under the leadership of the MSZMP and in close cooperation with the USSR and with the other fraternal countries, achieved remarkable successes in all fields of life, they drastically changed the appearance of their motherland and transformed it into a socialist state with a developed economy, and a prosperous culture, into a country with great, international prestige.

The Hungarian People's Republic considerably contributes to the consolidation of the Warsaw Pact Organization, to the unity and power of the socialist community, for the elimination of the threat of nuclear war, for the preservation of peace, and for the development of mutually advantageous cooperation among the peoples of Europe and the world. Your country is actively participating in CEMA and in socialist economic integration, in the implementation of the comprehensive program for the scientific-technical progress of CEMA member-countries.

We are expressing our deep satisfaction at the constant expansion and intensification of the friendship and cooperation between our two parties, countries, and peoples, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

With all our hearts we wish you dear comrades, you and the fraternal Hungarian people, great successes in implementing the decisions of the 13th MSZMP Congress, as well as in the further construction of a developed socialist society in your country, and in the struggle for peace and social progress.

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BULGARIA

DEFENSE MINISTER DZHUROV AWARDS UNNAMED ENTERPRISE

AU210911 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 12 Apr 86 pp 1, 3

[Stefan Stefanov report: "High Awards for the Frontrankers—Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Minister of National Defense, Awarded the 'Georgi Dimitrov' Order and the 'Banner of Labor Glory' to a Leading Enterprise in the Socialist Competition"—place not given]

[Excerpts] The working collective led by Engineer D. Shishkov has experienced many joyous moments in its 47-year-long history. However, yesterday (11 April) was a new, unique festival for the collective. High governmental awards were made to the enterprise and to the production frontrankers.

Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, Stoyan Koshulev, chairman of the Executive Bureau of the okrug [not further specified] people's committee, and many guests took their places in the business presidium for the festive event. [Passage omitted on reading of decrees granting the awards]

To the banner of the enterprise, next to the "Red Banner of Labor" and "People's Republic of Bulgaria" (Second Class) Orders, Army General Dobri Dzhurov also attached our highest order, which bears the name of the leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people. He handed the "Banner of Labor Glory" to Engineer Shishkov and presented the orders to the winners.

When he congratulated the working collective in the name of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and personally in his own name on the occasion of the awarding of the highest distinction for important successes in the complex fulfillment of the plan for the Eighth 5-Year-Plan period, Army General Dobri Dzhurov addressed warm words to those present. He dwelt on the new tasks stemming from the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress which the workers and specialists must now resolve. The new formulations and requirements require, stressed the speaker, that "discipline in all its aspects must be brought to the forefront. A greater degree of planning, organization, and high exigence must be put into all activities. This requires a radical reorganization to be carried out both in thought and in actions, and in the organization and style of work and leadership. It must be more energetic and businesslike."

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV GREETES SYRIA'S AL-ASAD ON NATIONAL DAY

AU181246 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Apr 86 p 1, 6

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has sent the following telegram to Hafiz al-Asad, general secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic:

It is a pleasure for me to send most cordial greetings in the name of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, [PRB] and personally in my own name to you and the friendly Syrian people on the occasion of the national day of the Syrian Arab Republic—the 40th anniversary of the evacuation of foreign troops from Syrian territory.

The Bulgarian people has been following with interest the successes of the friendly Syrian people achieved under your leadership on the part of the country's progressive socioeconomic development. The role of friendly Syria is well known in foiling the attempts of American imperialism to impose its hegemony in the Middle East region, using for this purpose the aggressive expansionist aspirations of its strategic ally Israel. The Syrian Arab Republic is playing a leading role in uniting the Arab progressive and national patriotic forces in their joint struggle against imperialism and Zionism, for the return of the occupied Arab territories, in guaranteeing the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and in foiling the attempts to impose a pro-imperialist solution of the Middle East problem. We highly value the Syrian leadership's contribution to the continued deepening of the cooperation and friendly links of the Syrian Arab Republic and the other Arab nations with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community—true friends of the just Arab cause. We welcome this political line conducted by the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party and the National Progressive Front.

I wish to assure you, Comrade Asad, that the traditional friendly relations between the PRB and the Syrian Arab Republic, and between the BCP and the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party, will continue in the future to develop on the sound basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and in the interest of our two peoples, of the solidarity and cooperation between the Arab countries and the countries of the socialist community, and of the struggle against imperialism, Zionism, and reaction, for peace, democracy and social progress.

POLITICS

BULGARIA

BCP CC GREETES CUBA ON PLAJA GIRON ANNIVERSARY

AU211010 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Apr 86 p 6

[Greetings message of the BCP Central Committee to the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party on the 25th anniversary of Plaja Giron victory]

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent the following message to the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party [PCC]:

On the occasion of the glorious 25th anniversary of the victory over the imperialist aggression in Plaja Giron, we send you, the communists and people of fraternal Cuba, most cordial greetings on behalf of the communists and working people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

This victory, achieved immediately after proclaiming the socialist character of the revolution, demonstrated the remarkable heroism of the Cuban people, and its firm determination to defend its independence and national dignity. It visually demonstrated the internationalism and solidarity of the USSR and the other socialist countries, and all progressive and democratic forces with the just cause of the Cuban revolution.

The ideological-political unity of the Cuban revolutionaries was tempered in those days, something which had a great significance in developing and strengthening the CCP. Loysl to the teaching of Marxism Leninism in the past period it grew and consolidated as the universally recognized leader of the Cuban working people in the construction of new life. With its comprehensive successes and principled foreign policy, socialist Cuba today deservedly enjoys high international authority and recognition throughout the world.

We are happy that the close friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples has constantly grown on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism and in the name of our common goals. We again confirm our steady solidarity with the Cuban people, which under difficult conditions is selflessly and enthusiastically constructing the socialist society. We are convinced that Bulgarian-Cuban relations will develop further for the benefit of the two peoples, and will contribute to the

cohesion of the countries of the socialist community, and to strengthening the unity of action of the progressive forces in the struggle for peace and security throughout the world.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish you, Dear Cuban comrades, ever greater successes in implementing the decisions of the historical Third PCC Congress, for the further socialist progress of your beautiful homeland.

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CSO: 2200/115

POLITICS

BULGARIA

STANKO TODOROV ON SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

AU272023 [Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHSTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 14 March 1986 carries on pages 1 and 3, a 2,000-word article by Stanko Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Assembly, entitled: "Ideas and Deeds of Socialist Democracy" dealing with the importance of socialist democracy under the present circumstances, stressing that "real socialism and democracy are inseparable" concepts. Stanko Todorov attaches great importance to the influence of the April plenum in connection with the development of socialist democracy in Bulgaria, stating as follows:

"Following the April plenum the policy and traditions of expanding democracy within the party and within society which existed in Georgi Dimitrov's time were restored."

Todorov divides his article into three chapters in which he deals with three different aspects of socialist democracy, namely: political democracy; economic and labor democracy; and administrative and management democracy.

Under the chapter "political democracy," Stanko Todorov analyzes the question of "representative democracy", which was worked out at the 12th BCP Congress and "further developed" by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in various post-congress party documents. Todorov states in this context:

"Life demanded that the role of the National Assembly should be enhanced and this applies also to the development of the people's councils. Representative democracy had to be developed. Better conditions had to be created for the people's deputies to participate in the preliminary preparation of the questions which the parliament was expected to resolve. The control functions of the National Assembly are to be consolidated and a more expanded and more dynamic system for the ministers and other high-ranking political leaders accounting for their activities to the parliamentary commissions and at National Assembly sessions are to be created. The relations between National Assembly deputies and their constituents are to be improved."

Stanko Todorov further dwells on important draft projects of legislation, such as the Labor Code and the new Family Code which are subjected to nationwide discussion. Todorov adds that "public discussions and referenda on questions of common interest" should be further expanded in the future and that the work of parliament should be widely propagated "so that the Bulgarian public may be acquainted with the achievements of the Supreme Organ of state power in the interest of the people's prosperity." He stresses the importance of improving the "forms and methods of work of the National Assembly" so that they may be transformed from "organs which administer on behalf of the people, into organs of the working people themselves for the expansion of socialist self-government", according to the Leninist behest. Todor deals with the increased role of local government through the people's councils and municipal councils and with the working people's participation in administration.

"The congress directive to enrich direct democracy really introduced changes in social thought and action," Todorov states. He stresses that "competitive and election principles were introduced in numerous administrative activities, in enterprises and economic organizations." He adds that "only if criticism and self-criticism, without which socialism cannot develop, are used in a more purposeful and more efficient manner, will we achieve progress."

Todorov emphasizes the role of the individual citizen in exercising socialist democracy describing it in the following passage: "The socialist working man, who has the right to enjoy the assets of socialist democracy, is obliged to be an active factor in consolidating this democracy. The violations of the Leninist principle of leadership, the cases of suppressing criticism, formal criticism, and other undesirable phenomena are possible in those collectives and territorial units where passive attitudes and indifference toward public interests are manifested."

Dealing with economic and labor democracy Todorov points out the importance of the new Labor Code in clarifying the role of the collective as "owner and manager of socialist property" and states: "We are aware of the fact that we still have much to accomplish for a strict observation of the state of the collective as owner and manager of enterprises, which are self-governing units; we still have much to accomplish in making people familiar with the great idea about self-governing in their own interest, as well as in the public interest."

Stanko Todorov devotes the last portion of his article to socialist democracy in administration and management. He states in this connection:

"Socialist democracy greatly depends upon the manner in which the state organs function, it depends upon the state and the activities of the social organizations and movements. The efforts during the period between the 12th and 13th congresses were devoted to the essential issues of administration, so that the political and economic methods and means of leadership may prevail and a struggle may be waged against administrative-bureaucratic methods of work, so that better relations may be established between the centralized administration and the role of local organs and organizations,

so that strict discipline and personal responsibility of cadres in administrative organs may be introduced." In dealing with overcoming shortcomings in administration, Todorov points out that "certain shortcomings in the methods and style of work have become chronic and intolerable. In this context we should examine the organizational-structural changes implemented in 1986 by the National Assembly within the Council of Ministers and its organs. As was pointed out at the January 1986 plenum of the BCP Central Committee, the goal is to achieve a new quality in the mutual relations between the basis and the super-structure, between central and basic organs."

Stanko Todorov closes his article by mentioning the role of "social organizations", including the Fatherland Front in connection with perfecting socialist democracy. He describes the tasks of the Fatherland Front: "The Fatherland Front organizations and leaderships must assist the territorial units with their competent leading bodies, capable of settling the problems of the working people, of daily life and concerning the needs of the population. They must keep the people's masses informed and study their opinions. They must support uncompromising measures against anyone who undermines socialist democracy, against those who violate discipline, the responsibilities and the obligations to implement the decisions that have been adopted."

Todorov ends his article with the statement that "following the 13th BCP Congress we will raise the April policy of efficient socialist democracy to an even higher stage."

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CSO: 2200/115

POLITICS

BULGARIA

YOTOV ON MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY LINE

AU041105 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 March 86 pp 1, 3

[Article by Yordan Yotov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, editor in chief of the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO: "The Marxist-Leninist Policy is a Class-Party Policy"]

[Excerpts] Our party, the party of Bulgarian communists, and our entire people are facing an important event. Within 3 days the 13th BCP Congress is opening.

This high party forum is called upon to confirm, further develop, and enrich with new ideas and new postulates the decisions adopted by the February 1985 and January 1986 plenums of the BCP Central Committee, which were devoted to the implementation of scientific-technological revolution in our country. The Congress is called upon to map out a specific program on the achievement of this necessary, vitally important, and decisive goal.

As Lenin wrote: "The essence of Marx's teaching is the clarification of the world-historical role of the proletariat as the builder of the socialist society." (Lenin, collected works, vol 23, p 1). The April plenum policy of the BCP is permeated by this consistent class stand. Uncompromisingly loyal and faithful to Marxism-Leninism, our April policy expresses the interests of the workers class, the class whose historical goals are in full conformity with the basic and vital needs of all working people, in accordance with social progress, and with the real future of human civilization.

It is precisely because of the fact that the April policy is a class-party policy, that it correctly reflects the natural laws of contemporary social development, by penetrating the essence of social processes and phenomena. This is, precisely, why the April policy is an innovating and deeply scientific policy. Hence, the active, revolutionary, and transforming character of this policy, which is expressed in the inspiring program of the April plenum for drastic changes for the better, as well as for the perfection of socioeconomic reality in our country, for the sake of the people's happiness.

The class-party character of the April policy is its basic, essential trait, which is determined by its Marxist-Leninist nature, as well as by the objective reality under the conditions in which it is developing. We are building socialism under the circumstances of a complicated, international situation, under the conditions of the constantly exacerbating aggressive character of the most reactionary circles of imperialism, and above all, of American imperialism, forces which are trying to stop the objective progress of history and to achieve social revenge. The class-party character of the April policy gives correct guidelines even for the most complicated social situations and enables us to determine our priority targets and tasks, as well as to adopt correct political decisions from the position of the workers class, from the point of view of the socialist workers, and on the basis of the requirements of social progress.

Both its patriotism, which is closely linked to the people, as well as its proletarian and socialist internationalism are stemming from the class-party character of the April policy. The healthy influence of revolutionary traditions strongly influences this fact. Under the leadership of Dimitur Blageov and Georgi Dimitrov our party developed as one of the strongest links of the international communist and workers movement. As early as in 1915 Lenin called the Bulgarian leftwing socialists "real internationalists" and this represented the highest possible evaluation of their consistently defended class positions, by which they manifested themselves as the most consistent, and most truly patriotic force in our society of that epoch.

One of the essential features of the April policy is that fact that any national parochialism and conceit is alien to it. It is true, that the April policy was shaped and developed on the basis of our national experience in building socialism. However, it by no means neglected the achievements and the experience of the fraternal countries within the socialist community, and of the Soviet Union, in particular, which has the greatest experience and "time of service" in the construction of the new society. There is even more—the April policy takes into consideration the interests of the international communist and workers movement. Generally speaking, the study and creative application of the international socialist experience and the consideration for the needs of the worldwide social progress are one of the most important sources for the further development of the April policy, for the implementation of its historical mission.

At the same time, we can say that the shaping and development of the April policy throughout the last 3 decades represents an essential contribution of the BCP to the cause of socialism. By successfully implementing the April policy we are fulfilling our international duty at the same time. Our country unrelentingly follows the policy of comprehensive cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and its contributes to the consolidation of the power and unity of action of the worldwide socialist system, of the international communist and workers movement, of all progressive forces in resolving the historical task—namely to achieve frontranking positions in science and technology for the sake of the further improvement of the

people's well-being in the socialist countries and for intensifying our common defense potential, as well as for defending peace and international security, and for rescuing mankind from thermo-nuclear disaster.

The general Leninist April plenum policy is a vital party line, which is constantly developing and being enriched in conformity with the requirements of life, in conformity with the objective needs of our epoch. This is a line of communist revolutionary thought and of revolutionary action.

The most recent theoretical elaborations and practical approaches of our party, in particular as regards the decisions of the February 1985 and the January 1986 plenum of the BCP Central Committee are brilliant confirmations of the creative and constructive spirit of the April policy. These decisions developed the global strategy and the practical platform for the implementation of the historical task--namely the task of combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution for the successful construction of mature socialist society in our country. The April policy today is mapping out unmistakable and well-founded future prospects for the planned and comprehensive development of mature socialism upon the basis of scientific-technological progress. The very fact that this task was assigned to us is a characteristic trait of the unlimited constructive opportunities of the April policy, because we are talking about an objective and real expression of the social need which is of decisive importance for the development of our society. Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out: "Without the scientific-technological revolution it is impossible to build an adequate material-technical base for mature socialism and for the people's material well-being, and to ensure the all-round development of the human personality and its highly effective self-realization.

"In other words, without the scientific-technical revolution neither 'mature' nor 'immature' socialism can exist."

The Leninist general April policy of the BCP, only within 3 decades, has placed our society in the front ranks of world progress. It has ensured our society's accelerated and comprehensive upsurge. Creative and constructive, always loyal to Marxism-Leninism and to the revolutionary traditions of our party, the April policy will be useful to us today and tomorrow--for the happiness of our working people and for achieving our communist ideals.

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CSO: 2200/115

2 June 1986

POLITICS

BULGARIA

NEW EDITION OF ZHIVKOV'S WORKS ON ROLE OF SCIENCE

AU210916 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 14 April 1986 carries on pages 1 and 2 an unattributed 900-word review of a new 2-volume collected edition of works by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council. The review is entitled "Science—a Mighty Productive Force," with the subheading: "A Two-Volume Edition of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's Works Has Been Published." The reviewer first notes that the edition "has been offered by Partizdat first of all to the delegates of the 13th BCP Congress, and now to the whole of our public."

The reviewer describes the edition as containing "reports, speeches, addresses, articles, and lectures of our first party and state leader." The reviewer finds that "one main formulation" permeates all the various works: "The BCP will fulfill its historical calling to be the party-leader of our people in the struggle to build socialism and communism only if it relies on the achievements of modern science, and if it applies a scientific approach in its activity. Now Bulgarian science is required to attain a level at which any activity—from material production to intellectual life—is to develop on a modern scientific basis, in accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory and with the requirements of the scientific-technical revolution."

The reviewer notes that "a central place" among the works presented "is taken by Comrade Todor Zhivkov's elaborations following the 12th BCP Congress," and that "a peak in these elaborations are the Report and the Introductory and Concluding Speeches at the February 1985 BCP Central Committee plenum." "These are followed in chronological order by other works by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, which present a very complete picture of his ideas and views in this field," continues the reviewer. He concludes by noting that the contents of the two books "enable one to see the theoretical and practical contribution of the BCP in the working out of the problems of science and scientific-technical progress."

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

KUBADINSKI ON FATHERLAND FRONT ROLE, APRIL LINE

AU070843 [Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 2 April on pages 1 and 4 carries a 3,500-word article by Pencho Kubadinski, "member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council," entitled "A Bigger Role and More Responsibilities." In it Kubadinski reviews on the eve of the 13th BCP Congress the role in Bulgarian society of the Fatherland Front, arguing that it has consistently supported the BCP in its policies, which have been responsible for Bulgaria's recent successful development.

Kubadinski begins by discussing the importance of party congresses in general, stressing that "the party is approaching its 13th Congress with a clear awareness of its successes and the problems that have remained unsolved, and of the need to create the necessary political, economic, and ideological preconditions for implementing the scientific-technological revolution." He surveys Bulgaria's successes since the BCP Central Committee April 1956 plenum, pointing out that "neither the complicated international situation nor the raw material-energy crisis and the unfavorable climatic conditions could stop the striving of our people to achieve the dynamic economic and social development of their country." In this context he dwells on the "wise and farsighted policy of the BCP" and the "comprehensive cooperation and drawing closer together between Bulgaria and the USSR," as factors in Bulgaria's successes. On "weaknesses", Kubadinski, without specifying them, stresses that "the party boldly and openly directs its attention toward the weaknesses and the new higher requirements and criteria, and has developed a bold program for implementing the scientific-technological revolution under our conditions." He points out "good organization, order and discipline, a businesslike approach, concrete deeds, and an uncompromising struggle against apathy, hubbub, and all mistakes and weaknesses" as preconditions for implementing this program.

Kubadinski analyzes the role of the Fatherland Front in the country's economic, social, and political life. In this context he mentions the "special decision of the BCP Central Committee of 1957 on the activity and tasks of the Fatherland Front," pointing out that "at every stage of the country's development the party carefully and in a well-grounded manner determined the place and tasks of the Fatherland Front as an important element in society's social life and political system."

On the specific tasks of the Fatherland Front, Kubadinski lists among others such functions as: serving as "the most popular sociopolitical organization and all-people movement"; "the most numerous social support of the party and the people's government and an important factor in mobilizing the people for participating in the government and the development of socialist democracy"; "participating in the implementation of the party's socioeconomic policy."

On the most recent tasks of the Fatherland Front, Kubadinski mentions its role in "further strengthening the family," "solving demographic problems," and putting the new Labor Code into effect.

In the last part of his article Kubadinski concentrates on the "contribution of the Fatherland Front to enhancing the political guarantees for developing the economic foundations of socialist democracy in the conurbation systems." In this context he dwells on the role of the Fatherland Front during the election campaigns, and the need to create closer links between the deputies and their constituencies after the elections.

Kubadinski concludes by pledging that "our entire people, united in the Fatherland Front and rallied around the BPC, will produce an accelerating impetus for the further development of our socialist motherland."

No further processing planned.

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CSO: 2200/115

POLITICS

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

STANISHEV RECEIVES ISRAELI CP LEADER—Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, yesterday met Zahi Karkabi, candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Communist Party of Israel and the leader of the delegation from the Communist Party of Israel which took part in the work of the 13th BCP Congress. At the meeting, which was held in a warm comradely atmosphere, opinions were exchanged on topical questions relating to the international situation and the communist movement. A protocol was agreed for cooperation between the BCP and the Communist Party of Israel during the 1986-87 period. Complete unanimity was noted on all the issues discussed. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Apr 86 p 12 AU] /9738

ATANASOV RECEIVES POLISH AMBASSADOR—Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, yesterday received Wieslaw Beck, the newly appointed Polish ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria. Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, took part in the meeting. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Apr 86 p 2 AU] /9738

CSO: 2200/115

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INTERIOR MINISTER NOTES CRIME RISE IN 1985

AU201025 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Apr 86 p 2

[CTK report: "Regular Wednesday Press Conference With CSSR Minister of Interior"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—CSSR Minister of Interior Vratislav Vajnar gave a press conference on Wednesday [16 April].

He said that members of the National Security Corps [SNB] and the Border Guards' units, and the troops of the Ministry of Interior are fulfilling well the tasks of the security policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state, and reliably safeguarding the results of our people's work. In 1985, compared with the preceding year, there was a moderate fall in the number of punishable offenses, especially general crime. However, there was an increase in damage caused. The criminal activity of recidivists, who account for 56 percent of crimes against property, for example, is an enduring problem.

The security agencies are devoting themselves systematically to the protection of socialist economy. The number of identified punishable offenses and transgressions increased by almost 5 percent. The theft of property in socialist ownership is the most frequent crime. The number of identified punishable offenses against economic discipline tripled last year.

Despite a number of road safety measures, members of the SNB last year recorded a negative development in traffic accidents. They investigated a total of 103,000 accidents, in which 1,290 persons were killed, and 5,587 seriously injured. Material losses reached Kcs495.5 million.

Vratislav Vajnar also spoke about the preventive-educational activity of members of the SNB, and the share of members of Auxiliary Guards of the Public Security Corps in safe guarding public order and in the struggle against all forms of criminal activity. He thanked the Czechoslovak media for their effective cooperation. In the closing part of his speech he spoke about tasks which the 17th CPCZ Congress had entrusted to our security agencies.

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CSO: 2400/267

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COMMUNISTS, SOCIAL DEMOCRATS SEEN SHARING VIEWS

AU141132 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Mar 86 p 6

[Article by Rastislav Toth, doctor of philosophy and candidate of sciences on the staff of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the Comenius University in Bratislava: "The Communists, the Social Democrats, and Peace; Reflecting on the Deliberations and Conclusions of the 27th CPSU Congress"]

[Excerpts] We are living at a time when advances in science and technology are having a big impact on the overall social development. On the one hand, they enable man to acquire a broader knowledge of the processes of nature and to control them; they make work more intellectual and increase leisure hours. On the other hand, they also make it possible to create a potential source for the self-destruction of mankind. In this context the role of politics as being a specific approach of classes, political parties, states, organizations, and movements to how mankind's intellectual capacity and production potential are applied is growing.

The 27th CPSU Congress took place in the spirit of understanding this responsibility, and was oriented toward making the peace activity of the party and the Soviet state more effective. [passage omitted quoting from Gorbachev's report] The proposal to reduce the strengths of armed forces and armaments, not to deploy arms in outer space, and to remove nuclear arms by the year 2000, represent the Soviet communists' significant contribution to the discussion on the way to remove the threat of war.

Both these proposals and the USSR's moratorium on nuclear tests have enhanced the world public's interest in the Soviet Union's foreign policy. It is evident that Western statesmen cannot ignore the specific proposals mentioned above, or demagogically reject them without risk of losing the credibility they need among their own population. In the eighties a most active mass peace movement was created, mainly in Western Europe--a movement that is striving to influence the policy of its own states. An important role in this process is played by the activities of the parties of social democrats and communists in Western Europe. These parties have a great influence on the working masses and their organizations, and they themselves represent the more progressive part of the political spectrum of their countries. Well, what are their political stances with regard to the policy of peace?

Last year, the stances of social democrats and of communists drew closer together on several issues. Although no total unity exists within the social democratic movement, it can be said that the majority of these parties supports the proposals to ban nuclear arms tests and not to deploy arms in outer space, and that they are in favor of toning down armament, of eliminating nuclear arms by the end of the century, and of establishing European zones free of atomic and chemical weapons. Likewise, there has been a positive shift in the issue of so-called NATO military augmentation [dozbrojenie] with American intermediate-range missiles, a shift that is manifested in the criticism of the original decision of 1970. This year the leadership of the British Labor Party has gone even further, declaring that, in the event of a future election victory, it would cancel the "right of stay" for American missiles on the territory of Great Britain.

Currently, the greatest influence for a realistic shift of political stances in the social democratic movement is being exerted by the social democratic parties of Sweden and the FRG. Ex-chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Workers Party, Olof Palme, persistently called for a ban on nuclear tests and the establishment of nuclear-free zones in Scandinavia and the Balkans. O. Palme's successor in the party and state function, Ingvar Carlsson, has affirmed the continuity of Sweden's domestic and foreign policy, reiterating his party's intention to contribute toward setting up nuclear-free zones in Scandinavia and other parts of Europe.

The foreign policy pursued by the West German SPD can also be currently called peace-promoting. [passage omitted quoting Gorbachev on the point during the Geneva summit] This March the SPD leadership called on the FRG Government to cancel its participation in space armament projects, to halt the deployment of American missiles on FRG territory, and to support the moratorium on nuclear tests. Moreover, already last year the West German Social Democrats expressed support for the GDR and CSSR Governments' proposal to establish a zone free of chemical weapons in central Europe, and criticism of the Bonn Government for its negative stand on this proposal.

Today the Social Democrats acknowledge the parity of arms arsenals of the Warsaw and NATO Pact countries; this creates a good starting point for negotiations on a mutual reduction of the strengths and armaments of armed forces. The SPD leadership is in favor of concluding an agreement between the two military-political groupings mentioned above. Likewise, the realization of the idea of removing nuclear arms from the territories of states which do not possess them would represent an emphatic step forward.

As can be seen, the communists and a larger part of the social democrats have concurrent views on the basic issues of maintaining peace. Despite the ideological discrepancies following from the substance of the two types of political movements, a mutual harmonization of opinions and activities in strengthening peace is feasible. "An unprejudiced knowledge of mutual stands and views is definitely useful for both the communists and the social democrats. It is useful primarily for activating the fight for peace and international security." These words were spoken by Mikhail Gorbachev on the first day of the 27th CPSU Congress. The fact that

representatives of 21 social democratic, socialist, and labor parties and of the Socialist International heard them as direct participants in the congress enhances the chances of consolidating peace. This was the very first time that representatives of this kind of party had participated in a CPSU congress. This fact is most important, because it happened in a period of deliberating whether the world will be taking the path of mutual understanding, or the path that can lead to its self-destruction.

A similar opinion on the need for communists and social democrats to adopt a joint course in the process of consolidating peace was voiced by Egon Bahr, SPD Presidium member: "Neither the substantial differences of opinion, nor differing ideologies must make cooperation impossible in the most important issue of today. No differences can be so great as to prevent us from fighting to preserve peace." And W. Brandt adds to this: "The current equilibrium of fear must be replaced by the equilibrium of common sense and a concept of mutual security."

Stability and more frequent mutual contacts are important organizational aspects of understanding in international relations. Such a trend was a marked feature during last year. As chairman of the Socialist International, W. Brandt visited Moscow, Prague, Bratislava, and Warsaw in 1985; and everywhere he stressed that the treaties which he had signed in 1970 as FRG Chancellor with the USSR, CSSR, and Poland represent "a factor of stability and cooperation which ensures peace." At the head of a SPD delegation H.J. Vogel visited Prague and Lidice, where he bowed to the memory of the victims of fascism. As head of a contact group of the Socialist International Kalevi Sorsa conducted negotiations in Moscow, with CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. An agreement has also been concluded on the joint deliberations of CPCZ and SPD delegations on the issues of environmental protection. The culmination was reached with the broad and representative participation of the social democratic movement at the 27th CPSU Congress.

The communists realize that the stability of peace can only be achieved by joint effort. Although official contacts between the communist and social democratic parties of West European countries are rare, their rank-and-file party members represent the most active faction of peace actions.

Currently, the significance of peace movements as the political factor of the development of society is growing. The stimulus to enhance activity is given by the militarist policy of both the U.S. Government, and the governments of conservative bourgeois parties in Western Europe. This leads the people of different political orientations and various occupations to engage in protest actions against the militarization of international relations. As stated by Luis van Geyt, chairman of the Belgian Communist Party, the main force of the antimissile movement are the leftwingers: the communists, the trade unionists, and the members of socialist parties. The mass nature, unity, and enthusiasm of the fight for peace are a phenomenon of political life which, as soon as it achieves a certain level of its own development must produce the expected turn in the policy of the

capitalist world. An increasing number of people in the world are realizing their personal responsibility for the world development.

The year 1986 is the International Year of Peace. The 27th CPSU Congress has shown us the way to fulfill its substance. Peace is not an ideological goal of an individual movement, which contradicts other movements. It is the first condition of human existence and of the advance of man. That is why it is the duty of communists, social democrats, trade unionists, youth union members, and people with a democratic way of thinking to integrate their own forces actively and efficiently for the cause of peace.

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CSO: 2400/267

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE ISSUES DECLARATION

AU081300 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Apr 86 p 2

[CTK report: "A Step Into the World Without Nuclear Arms"]

[Text] Prague--The leadership of the Christian Peace Conference (KMK) has issued a declaration in which it expresses high appreciation of the USSR's peace proposals submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev. In the declaration the KMK stresses that our entire planet could be an area free of nuclear arms at the beginning of the year 2000!

The declaration states further, among other things: The reunification of all nuclear tests that was announced unilaterally by the Soviet Union on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and which it has been adhering to already for 8 months, is a courageous step in the right direction, a step into a world without nuclear arms.

The decision to carry out further nuclear explosions, which the American Government published a few days ago, appears incomprehensible both to Christians and to non-Christians, to believers and to nonbelievers.

The disappointment is worldwide, and is bound to no specific political or religious conviction. That is why the KMK is all the more grateful to the Soviet Union for its willingness not to carry out any nuclear tests even after the expiration of the unilateral moratorium on 31 March of this year--provided the United States will make use of the chance again offered in its mankind's interest, and will adopt a decision corresponding to this.

We firmly believe that the leading representatives of the two nuclear great powers will come to an agreement on meeting as soon as possible, in order to achieve a good social decision in this vitally important issue.

It is still not too late to halt nuclear armament, and particularly all tests of nuclear arms. It is still not too late to recognize that peace can be achieved in the future only jointly, on the basis of common security and without striving for a military supremacy.

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CSO: 2400/267

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

YOUTH UNION MEMBERS DUE FOR SCREENING

AU210939 [Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 9 April on page 7 carries a 700-word article by Kamil Kollarik, head of the political-organizational department of the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM], entitled "Interviews Will Suggest a Lot." The article announces an exchange of the membership cards of older members of the Socialist Youth Union as of 1 July this year.

Kollarik says, among other things: "The last exchange of the SSM membership cards 10 years ago was a one-off campaign that affected more than 1.5 million of its members. This year, starting on 1 July, another exchange of membership cards will be carried out, although on a smaller scale. Only the membership cards of those youth union members who have been SSM members for 10 years or more are subject to the exchange, regardless of the functions of their holders. This means that in the course of 1986 the membership cards of approximately 200,000 members will be exchanged, to be followed by about 150,000 exchanges each subsequent year."

Kollarik says that the basic prerequisite for the issuance of a new membership card is an interview with the SSM member concerned. The aim of these interviews, he says, is to "get to know in detail the members' view on the activity of the organization; to find out what he is missing and what he appreciates about it; and to derive inspiration from his suggestions." The interviews should help to "further improve the SSM's activity, to deepen each member's ties with his organization, and to strengthen the authority of the SSM in society and, of course, among the young generation."

According to Kollarik, the outward appearance of the new membership cards will not differ from those currently used. The card will be the same for all SSM members (though there will be a Czech and a Slovak version) and will have a validity of 12 years. Kollarik says that in the first stage of the exchange drive, primary organizations should compile lists of members affected by it and carry out interviews with them. In the second stage, in November and December, primary SSM organizations ought to conduct member meetings and discuss the results of interviews. Finally, the "solemn presentation" of the new cards should be a part of the annual members meetings in January and February 1987.

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CSO: 2400/267

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PACEM IN TERRIS SUPPORTS ELECTION PROGRAM

AU211459 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] Prague (CTK)—At its Prague session the Federal Committee of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy expressed support for the further upsurge of our society. In its statement on its position it says that it welcomes the election program of the CSSR National Front, and stresses that, together with all citizens, believers will also vote in the elections for the bodies of representatives, so that the CSSR may advance in the awareness of orderly and dignified human life.

The statement on its position further states that all citizens in our fatherland live in the 40th year of its liberation from the yoke and bondage of war. This reality is permeated by an atmosphere of calm, of peace, and of the common creative work and social certainties of the Czech and Slovak peoples and of the other nationalities living in our republic. Believers and their clergy also have their place in this reality.

In the light of the ethical values guaranteed by the untiring peace initiative of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist countries, and of peace-loving forces in the world, social achievements have been made that are justly called real social progress. This progress is expressed in the comprehensive development of the human personality, in the improvement of living standards, in the elimination of unemployment—and even in the fact that the young and middle generations are ignorant of this term—as well as in a secure old age, in charity activities, in the improvement of relations between state and Church, and in the cultivation of respect for our constitution and for the rights and duties of all citizens. These positive aspects justify our hope for a calm tomorrow and for the long-term development of our nations in our common fatherland.

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CSO: 2400/267

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ CENTRAL COMMITTEE MESSAGE TO 17TH PCI CONGRESS

AU191127 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Apr 86 p 7

[Miroslav Courton Florence dispatch: "CPCZ Central Committee's Greetings Message to the PCI Congress; From Our Special Correspondent"]

[Excerpts] The deliberations of the 17th PCI Congress in Florence, the capital of Toscana, continued on Friday [11 April] with the debate on the report submitted on the first day of the congress by A. Natta, PCI secretary general. The delegates' attention was focused both on issues connected with the social and political situation in the country and the party's tasks following from this, and also on the possibilities of the Italian Communists' contribution to the battle for peace. The CPCZ delegation attending the 17th PCI Congress, led by Comrade Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the CPCZ's Central Control and Auditing Commission, presented a greetings message to the congress.

The other foreign delegations did the same, since—according to the standing order of the congress' proceedings, foreign guests do not speak at the congress, and present written messages instead.

The greetings message begins with the comradely greetings sent to the 17th PCI Congress by the CPCZ Central Committee, and then states: The 17th PCI Congress is convening at a time when the issues of peace and war are the main problems of our time. We are convinced that peaceful coexistence and advantageous cooperation among states with different social systems are the only correct path that leads toward the normalization of the international atmosphere. It is the peoples' wish to live and work in peace.

Imperialism is unleashing crazy armaments races, even in outer space; it is meddling in countries' internal affairs; it is threatening them; and it is attacking countries that defend their freedom and independence; it is bringing mankind to the verge of a nuclear catastrophe.

The Czechoslovak Communists are convinced that forces exist which are capable of averting these dark prospects.

The recent 17th congress of our party dealt with these issues, as well as with the further development of our fatherland, when it convened from 24-28 March. The congress identified itself with the Soviet Union's far-reaching peace program, which was proclaimed at the 27th CPSU Congress and which is aimed at totally eliminating nuclear arms and all weapons of mass destruction and at having a world with lasting peace on earth, as well as in space. The congress set before the party and before our entire society the clearcut, specific prospect of the further all-round development of our country up to the end of this century. It took stock of the results achieved by us since the last congress, and stated that we have succeeded in maintaining and improving the people's living standards and ensuring their social security. Czechoslovakia is entering the second half of the eighties as a consolidated, politically strong, and economically and socially mature state with high living and cultural standards for the people.

The greetings message then underscored that the main result of the CPCZ Congress lies in the adoption of the strategic line oriented toward accelerating economic, social, and society's development, primarily based on the intensive implementation of R&D progress, while noting that the program adopted by the 17th CPCZ Congress corresponds to our real possibilities, expresses the basic interests and aspirations of the working people, and is in full harmony with the efforts of revolutionary and all progressive forces of the world.

The congress has again proved, the greetings message states, that it is the lasting line of the CPCZ's policy to develop and perfect socialist democracy and to expand even more the working people's participation in the management of state and public affairs.

The CPCZ is a powerful political force. Today it has 1,675,000 members and candidate members. Its worker core has been consolidated. Both the program and the policy of our party are attractive for the younger generation.

Our party always saw and sees the purpose of all its activity in service to the working people, in care for their welfare, in the effort for progress and peace. The greetings message states in conclusion: We wish the 17th congress of your party many successes in the fight for the working people's rights, for peace and socialism.

Let the cooperation between our parties be consolidated and expanded for the benefit of the people of Italy and Czechoslovakia!

[passage omitted reporting on speeches in the debate] During the congress the CPCZ delegation, led by Comrade Jaroslav Hajn, met with Fabio Mussi, member of the PCI's leadership, and with Gaetano Di Marino, deputy chairman of the PCI's Central Control Commission. In a friendly talk they assessed issues of developing further relations between the CPCZ and PCI, and exchanged views on the current international situation. The Italian comrades briefed the CPCZ delegation on the tasks formulated by the 17th PCI Congress for the coming period.

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2 June 1986

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SYRIAN SOCIALIST RENAISSANCE PARTY GREETES 17TH CPCZ CONGRESS

AU211840 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Apr 86 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Valiant Struggle of the Syrian People; Greetings Message of the Delegation of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party of the Syrian Arab Republic to the 17th CPCZ Congress"]

[Text] Comrade Tawfig Salih, member of the regional command of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party of the Syrian Arab Republic, has delivered on the occasion of the 17th CPCZ Congress a message, whose full text we publish today:

"Comrades and friends! We are delighted to attend the 17th CPCZ Congress and be able on this important occasion to convey greetings and appreciation on behalf of our great party—the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party—and its General Secretary, Comrade-Fighter Hafiz al-Asad—to you, our comrades in the CPCZ and Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR President, again expressing our full wish to strengthen and develop relations of friendship and cooperation which unite our two parties and our nations, and for the realization of which the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between our two befriended countries creates a natural and good framework.

"We greatly rejoice over the great successes and accomplishments, which the friendly Czechoslovak people have achieved in various spheres, and which have contributed to the further development of the CSSR and to the upsurge in its citizens' prosperity. They also constitute a significant contribution to the deepening and strengthening of the world struggle against the onslaught of imperialism, Zionism, and reaction, because American imperialism—in coordination with its allies—creates by its aggressive policy a real danger for world peace, supports racist and reactionary regimes and separatist movements, deploys missiles in Europe, prepares the so-called "star wars", sets up bases, undertakes aggressions against the sovereignty of independent states, pacts [as published] its strategy with reactionary, racist, and fascist regimes, such as its alliance with the Zionist and racist formation [utvar] in occupied Palestine. By its aggressive policy, it wants to force hegemony and its rule upon the greatest possible area of the world.

"The Arab region suffered and still suffers under this aggressive policy. The United States of America has coordinated its strategy with the Zionist formation, which constitutes the worst kind of fascism and racism, and extends to it material, political, and military assistance in various forms, in addition to the assistance provided to it by its vassals and by reaction, and continues to menace progressive regimes. By doing that, it is also responsible for everything that is happening in our region, whether wars, conspiracies, violence, wrongdoings, destruction, occupation, or bloodshed are involved.

"For all these reasons, on behalf of our united Arab nation and in order to defend Arab rights, we have taken a resolute and firm stand to oppose conspiratory, imperialist, Zionist, and reactionary plans, which are aimed against the broadest masses of our Arab people; we have not spared great sacrifices. Our heroic armed forces are a firm defensive shield for our patriotic and national affairs, foremost of which is the Palestinian cause.

"On this occasion we reaffirm our firm and ever principled standpoint that we will oppose conspiratory plans regardless of the extent of the conspiracy, of the number of participants in it, regardless of its instruments and means.

"We rejected, and continue to reject, the conspiracy which the Camp David accords are, we reject all agreements which are to accomplish the liquidation of our cause, our weakening, and our capitulation.

"We will continue the work aimed at realizing Arab unity, which strengthens the armed struggle, and in various regions unites the Arab energy and its deployment in the struggle of fate [osudova] against imperialism and Zionism, and against Israel, their racist base.

"We were and will remain proponents of the unity of Palestinian fighting weapons, we favor stepping up the struggle of the Palestinian revolution. We affirm our firm will to strengthen combat cohesion with our Arab Palestinian people inside the occupied Arab territories and outside them, proceeding from a single objective and a single destiny on the path toward regaining the legitimate right to liberate a usurped country, and create an independent Palestinian state on the liberated national Palestinian soil.

"We in revolutionary Syria will continue our unlimited support for the Lebanese national resistance, which has created the most excellent examples of the contemporary Arab struggle, and the support of the Lebanese national standpoint, concentrating in particular on the liberation of territory, on driving the Zionist usurpers out, and on ensuring the independence of Lebanon and the unity of its territory and the people. The tripartite national agreement, which was signed recently in Damascus among the Lebanese parties, is a good framework, within which to realize these objectives. Those who oppose this agreement are helping the enemies of Lebanon, who are imperialists and Zionists and their allies. Revolutionary Syria, its

great people and the party that leads them, our Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, and the leadership of Comrade Hafiz al-Asad, together with loyal to principles, will remain under the banner of victims and struggle a firm base, on whose rock-like firm resistance all conspiracies will break down. [sentence as published] We will not permit American imperialism by its hegemony and influence in the Arab region to expose to aggression our own forces and the assistance and support of our friends in the world, led by the community of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, the great and loyal friend of our party and our people and the fundamental force supporting our affairs and our standpoints, strengthening our determination in the sphere of construction and liberation. [sentence as published] We all believe that the nation at whose head Hafiz al-Asad stands, will achieve victory.

"We greet you and all progressive liberation forces in the world, headed by the friendly Soviet Union. We greet you and thank you for the cordial reception.

"In conclusion, we wish full success to the 17th CPCZ Congress, the realization of its great goals, and further progress and prosperity to the friendly Czechoslovak people.

"May the friendship between our parties and the people of our countries continue to strengthen."

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BRIEFS

NEW IUS CHIEF—Josef Skala, member of the Presidium of the Socialist Youth Union, was designated chairman of the International Union of Students [IUS], replacing Miroslav Stepan, who was assigned to other duties. This was announced by Jaroslav Jeneral, chairman of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union, at a meeting of the leadership of the Socialist Youth Union, at a meeting of the leadership of the Socialist Youth Union and the Czechoslovak Federation of University Students with members of the IUS Secretariat in Prague on 10 March. Jaroslav Jeneral expressed appreciation for the work of Miroslav Stepan, under whose leadership the IUS increased its role in the world student movement and was active in pursuing the ideals of peace and progress. Jaroslav Jeneral conferred upon Miroslav Stepan honorary membership in the Socialist Youth Union in recognition of his work in the IUS. G. Michaelides, IUS secretary general, presented Miroslav Stepan with the highest IUS award—the November 17 Medal. Josef Skala, the new IUS chairman, was born in 1952 and is a graduate of the Department of Journalism at Charles University, Prague. He broadened his education within the framework of postgraduate studies at the CPCZ Central Committee's Political College. He has held a number of functions in the university students' movement of the Socialist Youth Union. [Summary] [Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 11 Mar 86 p 2 AU] /9738

HUSAK GREETES WINSTON—Prague—Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, sent Henry Winston, chairman of the U.S. Communist Party, a congratulatory telegram on the latter's 75th birthday. In the telegram he highly appraises H. Winston's lifelong work and personal contribution to the fight against imperialism and for the working people's social rights, for peace, and for consolidating the unity of the international communist and workers movement. In the telegram he also expresses the conviction that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the CPCZ and the U.S. Communist Party will continue to develop successfully. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Apr 86 p 1 AU] /9738

STROUGAL RECEIVES BULGARIA'S LUKANOV—Prague (CTK)—Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, received on Thursday [10 April] Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, who is currently visiting Czechoslovakia on the occasion of the Days of Bulgarian Economy and Technology. Their talk concerned the further development of the two countries' national economies in the coming period, as follows from the resolutions adopted by the 17th CPCZ Congress and the 13th BCP Congress. The reception was attended by Ladislav Gerle, CSSR deputy premier. Petur Danailov, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, was also present. On the same day Comrade Andrey Lukanov was also received by Rudolf Rohlicek, CSSR deputy premier. Their talk concerned issues of developing Czechoslovak-Bulgarian economic relations. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Apr 86 p 3 AU] /9738

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POLITBURO HAILS GORBACHEV SPEECH, LCY VISIT

AU071338 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Apr 86 pp 1, 2

[PAP: "Communique Following A Meeting of the Politburo"]

[Text] Having acquainted itself with the 29 March television speech of Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo expressed its full support for the important contents of the Soviet stance. Only this way, it said, can peace be strengthened and mankind freed from the danger of thermonuclear annihilation.

Poland, together with the other socialist countries and the forces of peace and progress in the world, is taking active part in international efforts to achieve a complete stop to nuclear tests and thus consolidate the climate of confidence and cooperation, and will strengthen these efforts.

The Politburo acquainted itself with a report on the official friendly visit by the LCY Central Committee delegation headed by Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidency.

It said that this was an important event in Polish-Yugoslav relations and that its results will have bearing on a further friendly and efficient development of cooperation between both parties and states.

Emphasis was laid on the importance of collaboration by both parties and states on the international arena in order to consolidate peace and equal, peaceful cooperation. Praise was accorded to the decisions, reached during the visit, to expand contacts and cooperation between the PZPR and LCY.

The Politburo also acquainted itself with the course and results of the working, friendly visit to our country by MSZMP general secretary Janos Kadar.

Emphasis was given to the meaning of the strategic paths of cooperation between both Marxist-Leninist parties, the PZPR and MSZMP, as well as the established plan of interparty cooperation.

The visit has served to tighten the ideopolitical bonds between the PZPR and MSZMP and has created new impulses in order to proceed to a higher stage

of comprehensive development of the traditionally friendly relations between both peoples. It has encouraged a further consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community for the sake of perpetuating peace and security in Europe and the world.

The visits permitted an insight into the experiences of MSZMP and LCY party work.

The Politburo approved the conclusions and decisions reached during both visits. It instructed the relevant party cells to include these in their own programs of action and ensure their consistent practical implementation.

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JARUZELSKI, MESSNER SEND GREETINGS TO HUNGARIAN LEADERS

AU201022 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Apr 86 pp 1, 7

[Greetings message from PZPR first secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Zbigniew Messner to Hungarian counterparts on Hungarian National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Janos Kadar, MSZMP general secretary; Comrade Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic; and Comrade Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, in Budapest:

Dear Comrades! On behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, PPR State Council and Council of Ministers, and Polish people, we send you and through you the fraternal Hungarian people warm greetings and best wishes on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of Hungary's liberation.

The Polish people are monitoring with sincere warm feelings and friendship the efforts and achievements of the Hungarian people during the socialist construction that has been mapped out and directed by the MSZMP. By implementing the directives of the 13th MSZMP Congress, the Hungarian People's Republic is multiplying the national achievement and acting energetically for the sake of peace and progress.

Today, our traditionally fraternal relations are being enhanced by the internationalist ideological bond between the PZPR and MSZMP. The friendship and comprehensive cooperation between Poland and Hungary are reaching an increasingly higher level every year. This cooperation also serves to further consolidate the unity of the socialist community within the framework of the Warsaw Pact political-defense alliance and CEMA.

Poland and Hungary are also joined by common efforts to reduce the tension in the world and strengthen security and peace. The 27th CPSU Congress laid down viable ways of protecting mankind against the threat of nuclear extermination. Both our states are making a significant contribution to the struggle for a return to detente and equal cooperation and against the imperialist policy of arms race, blackmail, and discrimination in international relations. Supporting the principles of the CSCE, Poland and Hungary are consistently speaking out against attempts to undermine the territorial-political reality established after World War II.

On your National Day we wish you, dear comrades, and the entire Hungarian people further success on the path of socialist Hungary's comprehensive development, in strengthening your fatherland's international position, and in the joint struggle for lasting peace, social progress, and socialism.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and PPR State Council chairman; Zbigniew Messner, PPR Council of Ministers chairman.

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REPORTAGE ON FOREIGN MINISTER ORZECZOWSKI'S VISIT TO FRG
Connects Ties to East-West Relations

AU101328 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Apr 86 p 7

[PAP report on speech by PPR foreign minister Marian Orzechowski during the first day of his FRG visit, Bonn, 7 April]

[Text] Minister Marian Orzechowski expressed satisfaction at being able to visit Bonn, this being an opportunity for an open and exhaustive exchange of views with key persons in the political life of the Federal Republic.

He stressed that his present visit is a practical expression of the readiness to seek possibilities of further normalizing and developing bilateral relations and, at the same time, of making a maximum contribution toward improving the international climate, and consolidating trends of detente and cooperation on our continent.

The state and prospects of relations between Poland and the FRG are closely connected with the development of the international situation and East-West relations. There are still disturbing phenomena in many spheres of international coexistence, M. Orzechowski said.

We regard the escalation of the arms race, especially nuclear arms, as a particular danger to world peace. Plans to include space in the armaments insanity are causing special concern among the peoples of Europe and the world.

The realization of the American "star wars" concept, which is based on a conviction that military superiority over the Soviet Union and socialist states is possible, is a dangerous illusion that carries incalculable consequences. It would lead to an even more dangerous arms spiral which would destroy international confidence and the entire infrastructure of international relations.

The FRG, which together with some other Western states is actively supporting the American SDI and taking part in its implementation, has assumed a great responsibility toward its own society and all the peoples of Europe. We in Poland are observing this development of the situation with unease and great concern.

Aware of its tragic experiences, Poland, together with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, is not sparing efforts to prevent the world from falling into the nuclear abyss. This is served by our alliance's comprehensive and peaceful initiatives presented in Sofia in October 1985.

At the last meeting of the foreign ministers committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states in Poland's capital last March, we once again put forth extensive and realistic proposals on how to curb the arms race, improve the international climate, and return to the policy of detente.

A special chance for all the nations of the world, M. Orzechowski stressed, is created by the program, presented by Mikhail Gorbachev in January 1986, of totally eliminating all nuclear and chemical weapon arsenals by the year 2000 and banning offensive space weapons. This is the first such comprehensive and feasible proposal on ending the arms race and averting the danger of a nuclear catastrophe with incalculable effects. This is a long-term objective. Its fulfillment may be encouraged by secondary measures, such as the conclusion of agreements between the Soviet Union and United States on the removal of American and Soviet intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

We believe that for us Europeans, the performance of this task is particularly important from the point of view of the supreme requirement to preserve peace and reduce tension on our continent. Guided by this, Poland supports the concept of nuclear-free zones and zones free of chemical weapons in Europe. We are unchangingly in favor of continuing and consolidating the CSCE process and permitting the expansion and enhancement of cooperation between the European states.

The great powers bear particular responsibility for maintaining peace and international security. However, we believe that Poland and the FRG, aware of their responsibility for the fate of their peoples and our continent, may and should also do everything they can to turn into reality the currently emerging chance of making Europe a safe continent and an area of peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation.

We believe that the way to do this, apart from constructive activity on the international stage, is to develop relations between our states. These have always possessed and still possess an important all-European dimension. We recently celebrated the 15th anniversary of the historic treaty of 7 December 1970. We fully appreciate the normalization achieved since then, which can be felt not only in bilateral relations, but also by our whole societies and by individuals. We know at the same time that this process could be considerably quicker and its results greater. The process still contains a number of issues that are arousing our concern and awaiting solution.

On behalf of the PPR Government, I wish to reaffirm our desire and readiness to consistently and successfully shape partnerlike relations with the FRG on the basis of a respect and implementation of our joint treaty. For the

start of the normalization process was a strategic decision for Poland, made for the sake of our country and people, but also for the sake of our continent. As far as relations with the FRG are concerned, there is complete accord among Polish society.

For Poland, the treaty of 7 December 1970 and its recognition of our country's western border, remains the basis for bilateral relations. Its terms in this regard are sufficiently clear. That is why for the Polish Government and people, the chief yardstick of FRG politics is and will remain respect for the terms of the treaty and the inviolability of the Odra-Nysa border, which should also be treated as an integral part of the postwar European territorial political order whose durability of over 40 years standing is an essential prerequisite and basis for peace on our continent.

We regard the speeches by FRG Government and party representatives, including you, Mr Minister, about the importance of the treaty, a respect for the territorial integrity of Poland and the other European states within their present borders, the FRG's discontinuation of territorial claims, and an aim to develop relations with Poland, as important for the creation of the proper political climate in our relations.

We know that this view is shared by the firm majority of West German society which is no doubt interested in peaceful, constructive relations just as our society is. We hope that this very approach, based on feasible conditions and taking into account the real needs of the normalization process, will be the guideline of the policy and practical activity of the FRG's government and political forces toward Poland. The point is also that our mutual relations should not be negatively influenced by circles that continue to question the terms of the treaty or interpret it in a way that clashes with its letter and spirit.

We are ready to constructively develop relations with the FRG, remove the standstill, and intensify cooperation. We deeply believe that our efforts and concrete proposals will encounter a positive reaction in the Federal Republic.

I think that today, 15 years after the signing of the treaty, the citizens of our states and European public opinion are expecting concrete actions which will prove the desire of the political forces in our countries to make progress in various spheres of our relations. A review of these relations clearly shows that great possibilities of development exist practically everywhere. At the same time, there is still a series of issues that require settlement.

Economic cooperation occupies a special place in our relations. Its state and prospects have a considerable bearing on development possibilities in other spheres as well. We believe that this cooperation may and should animate the normalization process.

We expect that the declared readiness of the FRG Government and economic quarters to develop economic relations, as expressed during the recent Bonn visit by the Polish deputy premier Zbigniew Szalajda, will be followed by concrete steps to create more favorable conditions for an expansion of trade and industrial cooperation.

Commentary Assesses Visit

AU201809 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Apr 86 p 7

[Daniel Lulinski commentary: "An Improvement in the Climate of Dialogue"]

[Text]: The official visit paid by the PPR minister of foreign affairs to the land of the Rhine and his talks with leading FRG politicians have confirmed that full political dialogue between Bonn and Warsaw has resumed and that this dialogue has been imbued with a new quality through the simultaneous declaration of the intent to continue the process of normalization initiated by the historic 1970 treaty.

The treaty is the sole cornerstone of the process of normalization, and the attitude of the FRG to the letter and spirit of the treaty is and will remain the main criterion for assessing Bonn's policies with regard to Poland and European security.

The purpose of Minister Orzechowski's visit was to assess the course of relations to date, and to consider those obstacles and barriers which have resulted in a standstill and even a regression in relations, especially during the last 5 years. The aim of the talks was to "clear the ground," to define prospects for improving the state of relations, and to endow these relations with a new and constructive impetus.

Viewing the results produced by the visit, one can say that it was useful and fruitful, and that it confirmed that both sides recognize that an improvement in mutual relations is of more than purely bilateral significance, that it is of general European importance in terms of invigorating relations between East and West.

And that is also why the West German side accorded the Polish visit a high political and protocol status. The Polish minister of foreign affairs conducted talks with the federal president, the chancellor, the leader of the Bundestag, and with the leaders of all the parties represented in the parliament and with the leadership of the German Communist Party.

In striving toward a full normalization of relations with the FRG, Poland cannot close its eyes to attempts--frequently official attempts--to conduct a revisionist interpretation of the 1970 treaty and in particular to attempts

to question the final character of Europe's borders. These actions were accompanied by attempts to interfere in our internal affairs and to block economic and political cooperation. At the present time responsible political circles in the FRG are advocating the abandonment of such conduct, which caused a regression in relations and a failure to make use of opportunities for developing relations with Poland.

During the Bonn talks the Polish side expressed the hope that the current more realistic position of the FRG government would not be the subject of renewed vacillation and fluctuations dictated by circumstance, by the election campaign for example.

The extreme right in the FRG and nationalist forces are openly attacking the minister of foreign affairs, H.D. Genscher, for declaring that the FRG recognizes that European peace is based on the inviolability of borders and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states within their existing borders.

Minister Genscher also added that "we have no territorial claims nor will we have any, neither today nor tomorrow."

Taking note of these declarations made before the head of the Polish diplomatic corps in Bonn, one can express the hope that the FRG Government will be guided by these statements in the conduct of its policy and actions with regard to our state. This would also accord with the views of the majority of FRG society, who--as public opinion polls have confirmed--are opposed to questioning the Odra-Hysa border.

A series of interesting preliminary initiatives in the sphere of economic cooperation and the normalization of financial and credit relations have been undertaken recently. However, the FRG ought to adopt a more active approach to an issue that ought to be a factor invigorating the whole process of normalization. Our authorities will examine individual humanitarian cases in a generous manner, but the FRG ought to understand that the PPR is not a country providing economic immigrants.

It was stated during the talks that both states have a significant role to play in their respective alliances and that they should do all they can to translate into reality the recently emerged opportunities for making Europe a continent of peaceful cooperation and security. Warsaw and Bonn are for a successful outcome to the talks in Vienna and Stockholm and for the continuation of the CSCE process.

Minister Orzechowski is the head of the diplomatic corps of a country which recently hosted a meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of Warsaw Pact Member-States, and that is why he set out the unanimous and critical position of our states on the issue of American plans to place weapons in space, the so-called "star wars" project. These plans pose a great danger to all mankind.

Under these circumstances the FRG government's decision to accept--and this is considered a very controversial decision on the banks of the Rhine--U.S. plans to place weapons in space and its announcement that it intends to participate in the "star wars" program undermines the credibility of Bonn's policies and provokes disquiet in Poland.

This must have an effect on the state of relations between the FRG and the socialist states, as has been recently stressed in Moscow and Berlin. This is "the hour of truth" for FRG political intentions.

Poland has reaffirmed its readiness to undertake the constructive development of relations with the FRG in all areas. After the Bonn talks, the Polish foreign minister cannot talk about some fundamental turningpoint in the overall form of mutual relations but about an improvement in the climate of dialogue.

Given good will and a constructive approach on the part of both sides, this improvement creates an opportunity for beginning a new period in relations.

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CSO: 2600/410

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WRITERS CONGRESS' SENSITIVE ISSUES VIEWED

AU280746 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish 9 Mar 86 p 7

[Jan Marszalek article: "Scraps of Information" "From the Minutes"]

[Excerpts] During the Second Congress of the Union of Polish Writers in Warsaw on 25-26 February 1986 (guests and journalists were not admitted to the 26 February session) the following problems were discussed by writers and patrons of the arts:

Sociocultural Policy in the Past Few Years

The congress characterized this policy in terms of Poland and the world and in terms of the Union of Polish Writers. The forces hostile to the Polish *raison d'etat* have sought and continue to seek our economic and cultural destabilization. This was the reason for drastic measures against the creative communities that in many cases had sought the self-destruction of the Polish state. However, no country can afford self-destruction, nor can People's Poland. Despite the antagonisms, prejudices, and mutual accusations that have escalated in the eighties, efforts are being made "to democratize culture," "to propagate our cultural heritage," and "to give priority to the values" that reinforce and not damage the fabric of the state and ideology. One such value is books, which represent "that indispensable feature of artistic creativity without which other efforts are useless." (Professor Kazimierz Zygulski, minister of culture and art). The writers who try to undermine and even destroy the structure of the Polish state may look in vain for models of such destruction in Polish history because even the romanticists "put prepartition Poland back on the map." (H. Anderska)

Professor of sociology K. Zygulski, who as minister of culture and art was obliged in the course of duty to maintain contacts with the communities of intellectuals, gave this definition of one: "Ability to destroy everything, including himself, is one of the characteristics of the Polish intellectual." This definition is all the more interesting since it is based on first-hand observations. However, these destructive abilities are not wholly destructive because "at decisive moments some writers have continued to build instead of destroy things, although people averse to them and to us have done a great deal to make their lives difficult." (Professor

Marian Stepień) If these two statements assert the facts, the following statements try to tell us why it is that the ideas that help to disintegrate the Polish state have their supporters in the artistic communities. Andrzej Lam pointed to the crux of the matter. When in the eighties he found himself in the FRG and when "the foundations of Polish existence were being threatened, a famous Polish writer continued to describe Poland as one large place of terror. I was very sorry. A frontal attack against one's own country" provided satisfaction for the revanchist forces. Although Lam was in the FRG some years ago, the attitude of the influential pangermanic forces toward Poland has not improved. On the contrary it has deteriorated as attested to by Lichniak. He returned from West Berlin not so long ago, shaken to the bones by what he experienced: a long-term and carefully planned anti-Polish campaign beginning with Monsieur [French word used] Lanzman, a smart fellow who knew where to go to make a mass of money, through FRG schoolbooks and maps. People who have left Poland are also being used for anti-Polish activities. Lichniak cited an intellectual who had spent all his life in Poland, but who, when asked by a German journalist whether he longed for his fatherland, replied "You can live everywhere as a human being" and added that he had come to West Berlin to look after his father's interests. Lichniak was intrigued by this enigmatic statement and thought that perhaps, in his own case, Poland is the addiction he suffers from. "But," he said, "militant forces continue to slander our reputation, but this can be countered by asserting our own collective and individual selves." Lech Konopinski thinks that this hostility to the Polish *raison d'etat* is a result of the fact that "many of our colleagues refuse to recognize that their awareness is being affected by the awareness of other people"--of the people whose own interests and not Poland's interests are their overriding goal. Still, we should realize that our great artists, including writers, have never regarded Western (Mediterranean) culture as a golden calf before which one has to fall on one's knees. On the contrary, our truly brilliant creative people, beginning with Rej through Grochowski, have always suffered from the addiction called Poland. "Discussing these people means discussing the Polish state and nation." (Zygmunt Wojcik) On the other hand, in People's Poland, that is, in the Poland in which one's overriding goal should be to revoke our traditions and those of our neighbors, "literary criticism looks spellbound toward Western culture and negates the culture of our neighbors." (Janaszek-Ivaniczukowa) And yet criticism is the instrument that helps literature on its way. The uncritical response to Western traditions and the fact that our own neighbors are being ignored are responsible for the continued disappearance of our collective and individual ethos. That is why its reconstruction is "an enormous task" for artists and decision-makers.

The Role of Literature in Social Life

In most general terms, literature should integrate and not antagonize, link and not divide, and seek peace and not make one insensitive to war. It should boost "civic awareness" (Rogowski), "spread the truth and describe the fates of Poles and Poland" (Lichniak), "seek to eliminate war dangers and warn against attempts to disintegrate our state from within" (Jozef Ozga-Michalski), "propagate the knowledge about other cultures and peoples"

(Ivaniczkowa), and "foster individuality." (Rusinek) Integrating and not antagonizing literature and art, which link people instead of dividing them, should oppose the works that are socially and individually "destructive" and seek to intensify the antagonisms between individual occupational and social groups. "It is in this context that old utopias continued to be raised, namely, that writers are not dependent on their communities and that they profess only universal values. But the fact is that it is through the language that writers are most closely bound with their nation. I think that this congress has reaffirmed this fact." (The minister of culture and art)

The Tasks of the Union of Polish Writers Vis-a-vis Its Members and Those Writers Who Are Not Members

I have written about the aims of the union and would now like to discuss those writers who are not union members. The writer Jan Himilbach asked at the meeting of the union's Warsaw branch: "What have we done to ensure that our colleagues who are not union members have been admitted to this meeting? This is probably the touchiest problem of the literary community and perhaps it would be better to ignore it, but ignoring it does not at all mean that it does not exist. This problem exists and is quite urgent. It involves many contradictory personal and group ambitions and interests, which are not necessarily political in character." "The greater one's personality, the more reason for being at odds with our union." (Przymanowski) "Everything must be done to prevent a renewal of antagonisms in our community." (Kijonka) What Przymanowski has said means that whenever outstanding personalities get together--and such personalities are members of the union--conflicts are bound to ensue. Probably they have already ensued if Kijonka has warned against a renewal of antagonisms within the writers' community. The results of elections to union branches and to the congress delegations speak for themselves. New guards have been mounted, and Andrzej Twerdochlib referred to this when he said: "People with great experience in union work have been eliminated." However, coming back to the question posed by J. Himilbach: "What have we done to ensure that our colleagues who are not union members have been admitted to this meeting?" Actually every participant in the discussion from Auderska through Professor Zygulski aired his or her views on this issue. The upshot of these views is that any creative person may join the union regardless of his world outlook, provided he does not question the PPR Constitution. The Union of Polish Writers is an open organization! "It would therefore be a good thing that all those who have gone astray rejoin our community. But we need to employ tolerance, our national virtue, on both sides! Individuals have the right to engage in polemics." (Rusinek) "The Union of Polish Writers will be neither a closed sect nor an instrument of manipulation as some people suggest. We reject no one, provided one does not violate the PPR Constitution. Our union is wide open, but we will force no one to join it." (Rogowski) "We must win back as many colleagues as possible, including Rozewicz, Lem, Mysliwski, Nowak, and others!" (Kijonka) "The qualifying commission has examined 31 applications for admission from former union members and has rejected none. Our union is an open organization." (Safjan)

Attacks Against the Union of Polish Writers

Some widely read and influential weeklies started a hysterical campaign, following the publication of the results of elections of branch authorities and of congress delegates. The aim of this campaign has been to discredit the entire union. Krzysztof Gasiorowski, chairman of the Warsaw branch of the union, said this in this connection: "I am intrigued by the sources of these attacks. But we have no organ! There is no way for us to respond to insinuations!" Zygmunt Wojcik, secretary of the primary party organization of the Warsaw branch of the union, made a similar statement: "What POLITYKA did publish has shocked our community. I share this shock. If POLITYKA sees extreme leftists [lewak] in our union, it would be better for it to look in the other direction." Advising calm and prudence, Wieslaw Rogowski said: "Let us not be rolled over by the opposition, which debases us, and by those who put their ambitions over and above the prestige of our union for the very reason that they are unable to play in the union the role that would match their arrogance."

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CSO: 2600/410

2 June 1986

POLITICS

POLAND

ARMED FORCES POLITICAL AKTIV DISCUSSES TASKS

AU010730 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Mar 86 pp 1, 2

[Text] The 25th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the tasks stemming from it for party cells and organizations in the Armed Forces were the subject of meeting between a participant in the plenary session, Rear Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski, first deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces, and military and party activists of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces and institutions subordinated to it. The meeting, which took place on 17 March, was also attended by first secretaries of PZPR committees at military academies.

Speaking about the course and results of the 25th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, Rear Admiral Dutkowski said that last week's plenary session represented an exceptionally important stage in the pre-congress campaign. The subject matter under discussion at the 2-day session attested to its importance. The plenum examined the draft congress theses, evaluated the course of the congress campaign to date, and conducted an examination of certain issues pertaining to cadre policy. Much attention was also devoted to the conclusions stemming from the 27th CPSU Congress.

Referring to the resolution adopted at the PZPR Central Committee plenum which submits the PZPR Central Committee theses for party and public discussion, the first deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces stressed that the theses constitute a development of the PZPR program assumptions for the years 1986-90 and set out the goals of national development, as well as the paths and conditions leading to their realization.

A public debate on the theses, which are entitled "We are Strengthening the Socialist Foundations of a Secure and Efficient Poland; a Modern and Lawful Poland" will take place. There will be no shortage of views coming from the military community, emphasized Rear Admiral Dutkowski. Members of the party in uniform and party organizations and cells in the Armed Forces have a duty to be particularly active in organizing discussion on the theses, to make a creative contribution to discussion, and to involve the broadest possible range of social groups in discussion of the theses.

At the close of the meeting the first deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces set out military and party activities connected with introducing the results of the 25th PZPR Central Committee Plenum into military life and military training. He also set tasks aimed at increasing the contribution made by troops to strengthening Poland's socialist foundations.

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CSO: 2600/410

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USING DRAFT PZPR PROGRAM TO SHAPE SOCIAL AWARENESS

AUO41522 Warsaw KULTURA in Polish 19 Mar 86 p 3

[Anna Pawlowska article: "Making a Choice for the Coming Years"]

[Excerpts] The present version of the party draft program devotes a separate subchapter to the tasks of the mass media and regards the openness of public life and the freedom to express one's thoughts as elements of socialist democracy. What I miss is an accurate presentation of at least two more elements. First, that the party safeguards a free access to all kinds of information that are not state secrets and, second, that the party will continue to demand that press criticism be honestly responded to. Both these elements are among the fundamental component parts of political culture and are prerequisites for meaningful journalistic work.

The party congress always looks at the past and at the future. This time the congress will look exceptionally far into the future because this is what the party draft program stipulates. However, the point from which the look at the past and at the future is taken is always the present--the current economic, social, and international situation. Without soberly analyzing the present, it is difficult to objectively evaluate the past and to reliably program the future. Journalists are primarily interested in social awareness and address all their efforts to it because it maps out the scope and nature of their work and because, in the final reckoning, they want to transform it. It is beyond my powers to evaluate the current state of social awareness and to cite the "indexes of optimism," which are so popular now and which have been so industriously collated by Colonel Kwiatkowski's Public Opinion Poll Center. Please forgive me if I make my personal assessment of social awareness.

The basic barrier we have to break through is most people's lack of faith in the fact that man--a group or community of men--is able to really influence the present and the future and that the plans drawn up under the party's auspices are implementable. This is probably no place to speculate why this is so and how far this is a result of the actions of our political adversaries and of our own old and not so old errors. What is essential is that this mood is an expression of people's distrust in their own strength and of their capitulation. This is precisely the opposite of the stereotyped view we cultivate about ourselves. What an ugly paradox!

Let us not delude ourselves that the party is free of such doubts either. It is not. After all, it is a part of our community. Wojciech Jaruzelski's appeal that we should make feasible that which is necessary is an offensive response to the moods of frustration. However, I do not know whether we fully realize how differentiated and widely interpretable our ideas are about what is necessary. These differences run across all the sections, age groups, and beliefs of our society, which means that what we need is some social agreement on this score. I think that precisely the preCongress discussion could help us to reach such an accord under the condition that the discussion is sufficiently extensive, candid, and well reasoned.

As I see it, the special duty of propaganda, including the mass media, is to negotiate with our society the goals that should be regarded as necessary in the coming 5-year period and, without any beating about the bush, to lay bare all the conditions that must be fulfilled if our goals are to be feasible. It is no accident that I stress the words "without beating about the bush." The principle of "something for something" is perhaps brutal, but it is a true and tested principle, one which everyone of us has learned by experience!

We have frequently heard in recent weeks that modest goals will not sweep our people off their feet, especially our young people. My contention is that visions divorced from reality have now even less chance of sweeping our people off their feet. The results of our economic crisis have switched from acuteness to chronicity, which is simply a dangerous condition. According to my observations, for the first time the people from outside the groups of pensioners and the economically weakest sections of society have become aware in the past 12 months or so, of dangers threatening their social security. This is no joke. This is a serious signal. This may seem to be strange or not strange, but this sense of danger was absent when we really touched the bottom of our crisis. This sense was produced when we began to regard the following situation of ours as permanent: There is enough money and goods and there is no absolute shortage of anything, but what we have is not as abundant and does not arrive quickly and plentifully enough to let us sleep peacefully.

The more cautious people warned us 3-4 years ago that we must not get used to the crisis! Unfortunately, human nature has prevailed and has shown its ability to adapt. We must overcome this ability because this kind of adaptation degrades man and society. To be sure, if we regarded in earnest the alleged religious renaissance in our country, the principle that "God afflicts whom He loves" should be our protective shield in this connection, but apparently this renaissance is not strong enough.

From what I have said so far I do not at all propose that it is necessary to promote defensive and soft propaganda. On the contrary, I am convinced that we should attack offensively and sharply the present state of social awareness. However, since we know what this state is we should wage this offensive seriously and, which is most important, without any trace of demagoguery. Triumphant exaltation can raise the spirits of only those who practice exaltation, which at the most gets on other people's nerves and makes them ridicule it.

There is an abundance of good and very good propaganda material in the party draft program and primarily in the experience of the past 5 years. Promoting this material in accord and not in conflict with the pulse of social awareness is an opportunity for transforming this awareness, for freeing it from the shackles of frustration, and for organizing meaningful social efforts.

Let us take just one example. If all the legally created and revamped institutions of social democracy--from self-government bodies of inhabitants through the people's councils--fully used their powers and fully discharged their statutory duties we would not be living in a truly different, more equitable, more friendly, and worthier country. However, the research carried out by the State Council last year demonstrated that the people's councils use on the average only some 30 percent of their powers! We should publicize this fact at every step every day without thinking how Radio Free Europe may react to this. The failure to fully use powers is not a demonstration of renewal; it is a demonstration of the continued lack of faith in the endurance of renewal.

We could tax the present draft of the party program with many faults. We could find fault with its length, its generalizations about some issues, and the airtight inaccessibility of its language. However, although it does so roughly, the program makes it possible to answer the question of what the communists want Poland to be and what they propose to the people as the choice for the coming years. This is more than peanuts. Actually, under our conditions, this is a great deal indeed.

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CSO: 2600/410

POLITICS

POLAND

PAPER REPORTS ON GOVERNMENT PRESIDIUM MEETING

AU040806 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Mar 86 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] PAP--The Government Press Office reports that the Government Presidium met on 24 March. The presidium acquainted itself with the supply of goods to the market in the first quarter of this year.

The supply of foodstuffs to the market has become stabilized. In January the supply of most items satisfied needs and preserved equilibrium between supply and demand. In view of the winter holiday period, an additional 1,000 metric tonnes of meat were allocated for supplies to winter resorts. Favorable trends in the purchase of animals for slaughter, increased meat production, and high levels of stocks created conditions for improving the supply of meat to the population.

Despite increased demand, comparatively large stocks of sugar in the trade sector made it possible to fully satisfy needs. Although there has been an improvement in the supply of non-foodstuff items, there continue to be shortages in certain areas, particularly in the supply of building materials. There are also strains in the supply of coal, although the supply of coal to the market amounted to 6.4 million metric tonnes and will be 30 percent higher than in the first quarter of last year. There are also difficulties in the domestic trade transportation system. The amount and quality of rolling stock is deteriorating. Transportation capacity is declining while needs in this area are growing.

The Government Presidium acquainted itself with information provided by the Supreme Chamber of Control on the results produced by a control on the realization of production plans for durable goods allocated for supply to the market, and on organizations which trade in these products.

The control covered 35 enterprises that come under the ministries of metallurgy and engineering and 130 shops in 15 voivodships and the stores supplying them.

The control revealed that the fundamental cause of the limited production and supply of durable goods was in many cases the inappropriate functioning of cooperative ties between enterprises. Opportunities for expanding production of goods for the domestic market by creating enterprise economic

teams were not exploited to a satisfactory degree. There was also a failure to observe the obligation to supply spare parts for goods.

The next point on the agenda was a report on the state of agriculture and the food economy in 1985 presented by the minister of agriculture, forestry, and the food economy.

Positive agricultural production processes took shape and became consolidated during the period 1983-85. A consistent agricultural policy, the large number of economic and organizational solutions, and an improvement in the supply of capital goods made it possible to attain a significant increase in agricultural output.

An average 7.3 percent increase in final agricultural production over the period 1981-82 was recorded. Net agricultural output increased by 16.8 percent. An increase as significant as this was largely due to improved management and a reduction of 13.4 percent in production material-intensiveness. During the period 1983-85 net agricultural output increased at an average annual rate of 4.9 percent. A high increase in the socialized sector production rate was recorded, particularly in state farms (a 27.2 percent increase).

There was a significant improvement in the supply of feeds and agricultural machinery and equipment over the last 3-year period. However, many critical observations have been made concerning the quality of capital goods and the supply of spare parts. Last year there was a reduction in the supply of mineral-based fertilizers and plant preservation substances.

Positive trends in the structure of agriculture characterized 1985. An increase in the average area of land cultivated by private farmers was recorded. The negative trade-balance in agricultural products and foodstuffs was significantly reduced in the final year of the 3-year plan.

The Government Presidium acquainted itself with information concerning the degree to which tasks in the field of safety and hygiene in private farming had been executed. Activity in this field primarily concerns improving medical and social care for rural inhabitants; supplying farmers with protective shoes, clothing and equipment; and increasing knowledge of safety regulations. The actions in this area undertaken in most voivodships produced few results.

The Government Presidium recommended creating public work inspectors within the framework of the National Farmers' Union and the Agricultural Circles and Organizations. These inspectors would supervise hygiene and safety in private agriculture and provide advice. Regional organs of the state administration will draw up detailed schedules of tasks for improving working conditions in this sector of agriculture.

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CSO: 2600/410

2 June 1986

POLITICS

POLAND

RAKOWSKI INTERVIEW ON SEJM, PUBLIC ATTITUDES

AU311537 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSAWY in Polish 26 Mar 86 pp 1, 3

[Interview given by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Sejm vice marshal, to Ryszarda Kazimierska--date and place not given]

[Text] [Kazimierska] It took a long time to persuade you to speak to the press. The new Sejm marshal, Roman Malinowski, as well as the new vice marshals, Jadwiga Biedrzycka and Marek Wieczorek, have already given interviews, but you have not. Why is this so?

[Rakowski] It will not be far from the truth if I say that I wanted some time to get acquainted with my new area of activity. But there were also other reasons. I also needed time for reflection because this type of work is indeed different from work in the government, it opens up a new area of experience. I also had to assess the past years, establish what were achievements, and what were weaknesses, and defeats. In a word, I needed a break, and to catch my breath after the pace of events in recent years.

[Kazimierska] This is not, however, your first term of office as a deputy?

[Rakowski] Yes, that is true. I have experience as a deputy but the post of vice marshal has a somewhat different character than that of deputy, which does not require one to be always present in the Sejm building, to take part in the work of the presidium, the Council of Elder Statesmen, to receive visitors.

[Kazimierska] You have been in this post for five months now. And so you already have a certain amount of experience.

[Rakowski] Yes.

[Kazimierska] And of course the Socioeconomic Council which you chair has been set up.

[Rakowski] And the first meeting of the Council has taken place. After the meeting I obtained the opinions of several dozen members of the Council. It seems to me that there is no doubt that the Council constitutes a team

of experienced people who have a great sense of responsibility and are familiar with the main problems facing our state. I think the Council will constitute a team of people who think critically, who have opinions of their own, and not just on matters of general nature, but also on the functioning of state and self-management institutions and on those who implement social and economic policy.

[Kazimierska] At the first meeting of the Council you announced that you would like members of the government to inform the Council about certain questions and issues of the day.

[Rakowski] You see, I would like the members of the Council to obtain the information that is required by every person who deserves to be called a social activist. And so I would like to assist the members of the Council in the process—if it can be described in this way—of becoming an activist of standing in a given milieu. It is simply a matter of being able to say at the end of the Council's term that it has not only carried out its tasks with regard to affairs directed to it by the Sejm presidium but that the country has also gained a group of social activists and politicians who have more knowledge and experience of all matters concerning the state than they had when they began their work for the Council. I think that by answering your question in this way I am not belittling the worth which the members of the Council have already brought to it.

[Kazimierska] One heard various opinions expressed when the Eighth Sejm created the first Council. In addition to the supporters of the Council there was no shortage of those who opposed the idea of the Sejm setting up a new opinion-making and advisory organ attached to the Sejm. And nowadays there are certain people who advance serious arguments against the existence of the Council.

[Rakowski] I regard various opinions on the subject of the Council along with the question of whether it is necessary as being valuable from the point of view of strengthening and developing democratic relations.

[Kazimierska] Certain people say that we have many different consultative bodies, permanent as well as temporary commissions, and is it not the case that we are dealing with institution inflation or the formalization of social consultations and the system of advisory bodies.

[Rakowski] There is no need to be worried by the great number of institutions of a social kind which enable politically active citizens not only to speak out on the subject of state policy but to influence its content directly. Every social institution, and the council is such an institution, realizes and enhances the idea contained in a socialist system of not just formal but genuine people's power. We do not have too many consultative, opinion-issuing, and initiating bodies yet: We do, however, lack an active attitude toward problems which our country must tackle, needs which are of the order of national interests. I believe that an

inflation of this type of body has not so far occurred but one must remember the danger inherent in a formalization of the consultative process.

[Kazimierska] You say "we lack an active attitude toward problems." Do people not possess such aspirations?

[Rakowski] Perhaps I will explain what I meant. In my view, and not only in my view, society is entertaining increasingly greater hopes of direct participation in the formation of a socialist state's politics. These hopes should be noticed not only today, but also during future planning. Of the reasons why these hopes should be treated seriously, I wish to point out one that is particularly important. Its roots lie in the growing number of citizens possessing secondary and higher education and in the drastic expansion of the mass media, especially television. If we only compare two figures—40,000 people with higher education in 1945 and 1,200,000 with the same education in 1985—and add to this the 6 million citizens with secondary, general, or vocational education and training, we will then receive an answer to the question why it is essential to have institutions which permit citizens to directly influence state social and economic policy. The point is that an educated society is not and will not be likely to actively support a policy on which it feels it has no influence. When planning for the future, one must realize that the number of people who are educated, know about the world, and possess their own opinion on party and state policy and on the activity of leadership groups will grow, and thus the aforementioned institutions must also grow and strengthen. If the Socioeconomic Council adds to this process during its term of office, this I believe will be a cause of justified satisfaction.

[Kazimierska] You said during the Council's first session that the number of people interested in politics is growing. What do you mean?

[Rakowski] As a result of the changes in our country during the past 5-year period, our society is considerably more politically aware than, for example, in the seventies. However, we can no longer equate its level of politicization with its energy in public life. The experience we have accumulated tells us that considerable sections of society are interested in what is happening in state politics, often to their own advantage. In fact, no important political, economic, and social decision fails to cause comment, and every important political speech leads to discussion and arouses emotions. From the numerous pre-election meetings, we gained a valuable picture of the degree to which citizens are interested in the work of the authorities. We had an opportunity to convince ourselves that almost every step we make is carefully watched. Decisions that are premeditated, appropriate, and in conformity with common sense meet with society's acceptance. On the other hand, every slip of the authorities, every case of arrogance and soullessness, is carefully noted. There is no doubt that everyone inside the authorities, whatever the level, is under careful observation by millions of our countrymen.

There are several reasons why our society has become more politically aware during the past 5-year period. Without analyzing attitudes and behavior, it ought to be said that the 1980-81 events played a large role in this process. We remember halls in which long, sharp, and often heated discussions took place. And even if the wave of feverish activity has subdued since 13 December 1981, the subsequent years have proved that the politicization of society is already a permanent phenomenon with great social consequences. The party and its allies have taken this into consideration. Institutions have been created which permit working people and various milieus to express their needs and air their views on state politics. Meeting the changes in society's consciousness halfway, the country's political and state leadership has made serious amendments to the style of governing at various levels. Public life has become considerably more open, expressed in the popular saying about government behind an open curtain. Social consultations and press conferences by the government spokesman have become a permanent feature of political life. They supply public opinion with much information which extends its knowledge on the state of the country, government policy, and so on. The Public Opinion Research Center has been established. It plays a very important role in informing society and the state about the views and attitudes of Poles concerning many important socioeconomic problems in the life of the country. Qualitatively new features appeared in the work of the Sejm already during its eighth term of office.

[Kazimierska] That is the term of office that saw the creation of the first Sejm Socioeconomic Council. Why has the Ninth Sejm appointed a new Council to last only during the present term of office? Why has the Council not been made a permanent part of sociopolitical practice?

[Rakowski] I think the Sejm acted correctly when it determined that the Council should last only for one term of office. In order to permanently include it in the constitutional order of the PPR, it is necessary to gather experience. The temporary nature of the Council should be viewed in a broader context, in other words in the light of the changes taking place to our representative bodies and the various types of institutions meant to make the idea of people's rule real. I do not believe the final word has been said in this matter. The draft PZPR program also discusses this. The socialist world is pervaded with the spirit of changes. New impulses have come from Moscow—I mean the 27th CPSU Congress. And that is why the aforementioned temporariness should be regarded as a part of the creative searches being made.

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CSO: 2600/410

POLITICS

POLAND

PRC PHYSICIST INTERVIEWED ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS

AU041611 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Mar 86 p 6

[Interview given by PRC nuclear physicist Professor Zhou Peiyuan to Mariusz Dastych: "I Am an Optimist"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Dastych] Your biography states that you have been a scientist for 50 years and have been committed to peace and control of armament, especially nuclear armament...

[Peiyuan] For over 50 years I have studied theoretical physics and have lectured on the physics of turbulence at the Polish Academy of Sciences this year. I am planning to go to Warsaw again to lecture and to meet with Polish scientists. In 1957 I attended the first Pugwash conference in Pugwash in Nova Scotia. I actively participated in the Pugwash movement and in international scientific meetings until 1960. For 25 years there was a break in these contacts. Now I have returned to these activities as an old man.

[Dastych] What was the reason for this "break," as you say?

[Peiyuan] This was how the political conditions developed in China.

[Dastych] In view of the fact that the dangers threatening the world are still there, do you believe that disarmament is possible and that mankind can be saved from a nuclear war?

[Peiyuan] I am an optimist and this is my private view. For example, from the very beginning I kept believing that the Soviet-American summit in Geneva must produce positive results. What is more, for over 25 years I have proclaimed that nuclear war is impossible and unnecessary and that no one will be bold enough to unleash it in view of its destructiveness. After all, the two superpowers, which are in charge of over 95 percent of the potential of nuclear weapons, know that nuclear war will annihilate the whole of civilization.

I do not believe that nuclear war is inevitable. No armed conflict since the last world war has been waged with nuclear weapons, because there can be no victor in such a war. That is why we may and should speak of a threat

of nuclear war, a real threat, but a threat that is a typical political bluff.

[Dastychn] Let me cite a different view, one that has an extensive circulation in the world: The threat of nuclear war also continues to increase because modern nuclear weapons have a restricted range of effectiveness and radiation and can be miniaturized. This makes it possible to use nuclear weapons for tactical purposes without unleashing a general catastrophe.

[Peiyuan] I am a physicist and not a military expert, and that is why I do not want to discuss tactical nuclear weapons. My thesis is that nuclear war is now out of the question. It was also an absurdity in 1945 when the Americans dropped the first nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These blasts had no justification except for a political demonstration of force. When the atomic bombs were dropped on Japanese cities, Japan was on the line of capitulation. The Japanese had no chance to be victorious. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were tragic mistakes! They were mistakes because nuclear weapons alone will not enforce a victory if we assume that a nuclear war will leave no victors behind...

[Dastychn] What is China's position on the proliferation of nuclear weapons and on the "star wars" or the SDI program?

[Peiyuan] The PRC is decidedly against the two issues--against the proliferation of nuclear weapons and against introducing them into outer space. In China we also continue research into the possible effects of nuclear weapons, including the theory of the "nuclear winter." As for the SDI, we take the view that both the U.S. project and the possible Soviet counterproject regarding space weapons and defense systems backed up by the use of nuclear weapons in space should be given up.

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CSO: 2600/410

POLITICS

POLAND

URBAN PREFACES EXCERPTS FROM LAMPOON

AU122045 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish on 29 March on pages 4-10 carries a 400-word Jerzy Urban preface to 8,500-word excerpts selected by him from an underground lampoon directed at him. The preface reads as follows:

"The text I have submitted to POLITYKA for publication is not a literary parody or fiction concocted for April Fool's Day. This text consists of extensive excerpts from a short novel which contains a list of explanations, which is entitled 'The Dying and the Resurrected,' and which carries the subtitle of 'Modern Apocrypha.' Aleksey Dalcz is the author, but this name is certainly a pseudonym. The novel was published by one of the illegal publishing organizations. It calls itself 'AZYL Publications.' The footnote 'Warsaw 1985, Copyright by Aleksey Dalcz and AZYL Publications' indicates that the author expects his book to be translated into the world languages. The book costs Z300."

"In 1982-83 groups of creative people regarding themselves as oppositionists published a program for taking all Polish culture into self-retirement or into the underground. The excerpts I have selected from Dalcz's book are perhaps of extreme character, but they are still representative of the themes and political line of the culture that has been taken into the underground. By publishing in POLITYKA an example of the literature of the so-called secondary circulation I propose to legalize this literature so that POLITYKA readers are able to acquire an idea of what subjects the illegal publishing organizations deal with and what kinds of writing are involved when the press reports that investigations have been completed against such and such a person in connection with publishing and circulating such writings."

"It is probable that Aleksey Dalcz will receive a high decoration in the West and that Radio Free Europe will call him a hope of Polish literature. On the other hand, if he is charged with violating the law on publications, Western politicians and writers will defend him, although they never read the works of the authors they defend. All they are aware of is that they must support all the people who are against the regime and that this is called defending freedom of speech and freedom of writers."

"Anticipating these pleasant events in store for Mr Dalcz, I submit for the readers' judgment one of the most recent works of the so-called independent literature."

"My selections account for about one-quarter of the entire novel and provide an ample idea of what this novel really is. I have selected these excerpts and asked POLITYKA to publish them because the main hero of Dalcz's book is one Jerzy Tyran, the radio-television plenipotentiary of the Supreme Administration. Tyran [tyrant in English] is a 50-year-old fat and bald man with protruding ears. This is precisely why I am interested in this book."

"The illustrations have been taken from the illegal edition of the novel entitled 'The Dying and the Resurrected,' but the subheads have been devised by me so that readers may not confuse the heroes of the book."

Signed: Jerzy Urban.

The following random passages from the excerpts show what the book is all about:

"Jerzy Tyran, the radio-television plenipotentiary of the Supreme Administration, gazed sadly into a mirror. Unfortunately, although he has lived almost 50 years, during which he should have succumbed to the soothing action of habit, what he saw produced again a strangely mixed feeling of frustration and masochism, despite the fact that he has had undoubted successes in his life, successes that are supposed to be at least as gratifying as are sexual potency and an inborn personal charm taken together."

"The disaster was made worse by his head, which was shaped as artificially as the pointier end of an egg. His face reminded one of a mug of a dwarf clumsily scrawled by a child."

"For the casual observer the funniest part of his head has always been the ears. Nature attached them to his head wholly at right angles to his cheeks and used in its generosity so much material for them that it could have been enough for at least 10 pairs of normal ears."

"Innumerable caricatures depicting Jerzy Tyran have circulated throughout the country. Rhymed and prose lampoons have continued to be written. Seeing him on television, people spat at him and threw at him the most hideous curses. Officious acquaintances eagerly reported all this to the plenipotentiary, who responded with perverse joy, experiencing a mental orgasm closely approximating the most gratifying erotic experiences."

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CSO: 2600/410

POLITICS

POLAND

'ABUSE' OF EASTER RITES FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES CRITICIZED

AU072044 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 4-6 Apr 86 p 2

[Commentary signed "(ex)": "Jarring Sounds at Easter"]

[Text] Nothing is difficult for the willing, nothing is sacred for the purveyor of hatred, and no holy of holies is inaccessible for the fanatic who shuns no opportunity of using any tool to fight those who oppose his views. A week ago we were able once again to learn this truth when visiting Christ's Easter tombs in Warsaw churches.

Not so long ago it seemed that such symbolic tombs were supposed to remind one of one of the most important mysteries of the Christian religion--the death and resurrection of Christ. However, in some churches this mystery was transformed into political shows which in a primitive way recalled martial law, Father Popieluszko's death, or the prisoners charged with noncriminal offenses. There are certainly people who like such a mish-mash of various issues, but many Catholics were unpleasantly surprised last Holy Saturday when instead of the traditional Easter tombs they saw, for example, props representing a penitentiary cell, or--God knows why--a barricaded school, or locked doors of a factory bearing the inscription "no entry."

There are still many Catholics who associate the name of Golgotha with the drama of crucifixion, but in a church in Zoliborz, which is famous for its eccentric ideas, Golgotha was represented by a likeness of the dam near Wloclawek [allusion unknown]. The spear, the whip, the crown of thorns, and other accessories of the passion of Christ were replaced by stones, a cord, and a club. To boost the effect of the masquerade, the Roman soldiers were dressed in gray-blue uniforms [militia color]. Those responsible for this apparently forgot that at the same time the people in these uniforms continued to hunt night and day for the thieves who had pilfered the tomb of St. Adalbert [Wojciech] in the Gniezno cathedral.

You can still hear people sing in churches that "the cross is our lesson of love," but some clergymen would like to delete these words from this religious song and to forget that the crucified Christ was full of forgiveness, because these words and this forgiveness forbid hating those who hold different political views. It is simply difficult to believe that those who

are allegedly motivated by the command of all-embracing love, even for their enemies, have been able to gnash their teeth for so long and with such ferocity.

Is there any wonder that there are among us those who have no respect for our most precious national relics such as St. Adalbert's tomb when Christ's very servants abuse the tradition of Christ's tomb at Easter?

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CSO: 2600/410

POLITICS

POLAND

JARUZELSKI SPEAKS AT UNIVERSITY PZPR MEETING

AU181503 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Poland 5-6 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] PAP--Speaking at the end of a pre-PZPR congress conference of the Warsaw University PZPR Committee at Warsaw University on 4 April, the purpose of which was to examine aspects of the country's future presented in the draft PZPR program and the role meant to be played during the shaping of this future by education and the party, PZPR first secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski expressed satisfaction at having been able to hear the interesting ideas, opinions, and conclusions voiced during the conference. He referred to some of the most important topics of the discussion which, he stressed, had proceeded in an open manner and in accordance with the university's worthy tradition, and which had been rich in subject matter concerning both the entire party and the country, as well as internal university topics. He stressed that the conclusions stemming from this discussion will be used suitably during the work preceding the 10th PZPR Congress. He also acknowledged the correctness of having paid a lot of attention to the draft PZPR program during the conference. For the point is that this program should contain a rich load of subject matter geared toward the future, which at the same time would liberate maximum initiative and energy in its implementation.

Further parts of his speech dealt with topics which should be expressed in the PZPR program due to be presented at the congress, especially the place and role of education in the country's development and further socialist construction, and the changes that have occurred as a result of the implementation of the line of socialist renewal mapped out at the ninth congress, with emphasis on the chances for and dangers facing our development and on the need for it. Against this background, W. Jaruzelski highlighted the importance of an increased initiative by academic people, use of all available reserves in this sphere, and more effective teaching for the sake of Poland's successful development and to overcome the effects of the crisis. The academic community and Warsaw University, together with its potential, have an important role to play in these processes. W. Jaruzelski wished the Warsaw University party organization the honorable performance of the tasks facing it.

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CSO: 2600/410

POLITICS

POLAND

TU CONFEDERATION ON PRICE HIKE HARDSHIPS

AU191107 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] PAP--As announced by the 15 March communique on price hikes and greater social benefits, prices for coal, electric energy, and gas will be increased at the end of the present heating period, after the stocks of fuels have been reviewed. Charges for central heating and warm water will also be raised. The decision on this was made last year, but has been held in abeyance.

The general intention is to ensure that the average increases in the retail prices for coal, coke, electric energy, and gas be slightly lower than envisaged by this year's plan, but that the increases in individual prices be more differentiated. The 5 April session of the national trade union organizations and the voivodship trade union confederations discussed these issues under Alfred Miodowicz's chairmanship. Vice Premier Jozef Koziol and representatives of a number of ministries were present.

The session's main purpose was to clarify many doubts expressed by trade unionists as to the extent of the price hikes in question and as to their impact of the conditions of workers and veterans of labor. In general, trade unions did not question the economic arguments in favor of these hikes, but they were doubtful about their planned results, that is, about their ability to reduce the waste of energy, and they spoke with anxiety about this year's accumulation of price increases.

The session closely analyzed the measures to protect the poorest people against price hikes. A program for these measures, which also deals with price increases for fuels and energy, was published last March in connection with food price hikes. It has now been proposed that this program should provide for increased budget payments into the social assistance funds which are used to help people buy their fuel.

About 350,000 families have used this assistance, but additional funds would help increase this number and meet extra fuel costs borne by the poorest families. Trade unionists take the view that for reasons of personal pride the working people and pensioners would not accept such benefits, and that it was therefore necessary to suitably increase the social funds in plants; in addition, only families that have no assistance links with the plants should benefit from the social assistance funds.

Trade unionists also proposed that plants should not pay increased taxation due for increases in wages caused by the inclusion of fuel benefits in them.

The crucial issue is to set up a system with the help of which trade unions and the government can exchange information and views about the cost of living for individual communities and about price and income policy.

The conclusions of the session, which will be drawn up by the economic commission, will be submitted to the coming session of the National Trade Union Confederation Presidium, which will transmit trade unionists' views to the government.

/12858

CSO: 2600/410

2 June 1986

POLITICS

POLAND

DAILY REPORTS ON PROBLEMS AT WARSAW UNIVERSITY

AU181455 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Apr 86 p 3

[Alicja Matynia-Bonik article: "Party Conference at Warsaw University--To Train and Educate"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw University is the largest Polish university, and this means that its scientific workers have special tasks and duties to fulfill. The recent party conference held at the university to discuss the PZPR draft program devoted primary attention to the crucial question of how to train and educate students for the good of Poland.

The conference stressed that a university graduate should be not only a highly skilled expert who knows how to exploit the most recent scientific achievements, but also a politically mature and socially committed citizen.

This is determined by curricula and the individual training and educational work done by academic instructors. However, curricula should devote more attention to the needs of the economy in view of the fact that, except for universities and scientific institutes, university graduates are viewed with aversion when applying for various jobs. This aversion causes them to be disappointed and frustrated.

The discipline of studies at Warsaw University has deteriorated and the number of its students completing their courses on schedule is lower than the national average. More and more students interrupt their studies on the pretext that they must take up jobs, but this does not help to explain the disturbing feature of "eternal students." Academic instructors have also become less disciplined, are careless in their instructional work, and continue to show great tolerance toward students, something which cannot but affect the results of studies.

Both the report of the Executive Committee and the ensuing discussion agreed that persons who profess differing world outlooks and political convictions may perform the functions of academic instructors on the condition that their views and convictions do not become mainsprings of antistate, antiparty, antisocial, and amoral activities. Regardless of their personal views, academic instructors should be convinced that it is necessary to promote the civic upbringing of students, to foster their responsibility for

the country's fate, and to develop their understanding of the role they will play in society. The conference agreed that paying keener attention to the students' moral upbringing is very important.

Some participants in the conference, including Wanda Lukaszewicz, said that students continue to show an increasing readiness to address and discuss sociopolitical issues, which means that the time has arrived to break the silence and end the avoidance of difficult problems, because by being passive and defensive the party will never win over the young generations. The students' strained trust in academic instructors has not been fully repaired. This can be achieved only through direct talks between professors and students. However, as the conference critically noted, academic instructors are too busy with basic research which is mainly useful for their efforts to achieve scientific degrees and titles. Since "interviews with students are not paid for," some instructors neglect their educational work, as some participants in the conference stressed.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, who attended the conference, stressed the great significance of the increased militancy of scientists for Poland's favorable development and for overcoming the effects of the crisis, and appealed for efforts to exploit the unused areas of this militancy.

As the participants in the discussion and the report of the Executive Committee noted, the political atmosphere at Warsaw University continues to improve tangibly, although oppositional moods can still be detected here and there. The conference agreed that scientific policy, which has not always been implemented in line with the decisions of the ninth party congress, has also favored the moods of confrontation and opposition of sections of the university community against the activities of the university authorities. The present discussion of the PZPR draft program has helped to revitalize the university's party organization, which should be able to score successes in its activities and in its efforts to create an increasingly better atmosphere encouraging scientific and educational work at Warsaw University.

/12858

CSO: 2600/410

POLITICS

POLAND

JARUZELSKI, OTHERS ADDRESS 'MORAL HEALTH' MEETING

AU211851 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Apr 86 pp 1, 2

[Report by Cezary Rudzinski and PAP: "Creating Good is the Best Strategy to Adopt in the Struggle Against What is Wrong—the all-Poland Meeting at Belvedere Palace With the Participation of Wojciech Jaruzelski"]

[Excerpts] On Monday 7 April an all-Poland meeting took place at Belvedere Palace and was attended by 66 representatives of social organizations, educational institutions, artists, scholars and pedagogues, research workers and practitioners, members of the government, workers, clergymen, and journalists. They came at the invitation of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the State Council, in order to exchange views on ways of improving and strengthening the moral health of society. Among those who took part in the meeting were Zbigniew Messner and Jan Dobraczynski.

Greeting the guests and thanking them for accepting the invitation to take part in the meeting, Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that the time was ripe to exchange views openly and honestly on matters that profoundly trouble and disturb society, and at the same time to consider further constructive actions that are indispensable for shaping and strengthening society's moral health and for combatting wrong-doing more effectively.

The moral state of society is determined by many subjective and objective factors, added the State Council chairman. Today, we want to put particular emphasis on matters of an ideological and educational character, matters that determine social attitudes and have particular importance for the younger generation. This also concerns the legal and organizational spheres, so that law does mean law, and law and order is observed.

W. Jaruzelski expressed the conviction that a body of people as representative as the present one, people who are united in pursuit of the supreme goal of the good of the state and nation, is certain to produce proposals that will serve these goals well.

An almost 8-hour long sincere exchange of views followed the first addresses to be delivered.

General Josef Baryla, PZPR Central Committee secretary, began his address by explaining why the present time is particularly appropriate for raising the question of the nation's moral health in a comprehensive manner and the question of the struggle against all forms of social pathology. He said, among other things:

Our program of action will be enriched following today's meeting. A further integration of the legal and administrative front with the broad-based social movement and galvanized civic activity will take place. It emerges clearly from the assumptions of the meeting that the power of the law and the effectiveness of its preventative function are directly proportional to the level of public sensitivity and response to wrong-doing. These interdependencies are very apparent and they operate like communicating vessels: the recognized system of moral norms and values promotes social approval for the letter of the law, and this in turn aids the lasting systematization of legal principles which can enrich professional ethics and model forms of collective life.

Then the speaker indicated the most important issues to be dealt with.

The further concentration of forces and means in the struggle against pathology and irregularities in life: We intend to raise the effectiveness and efficiency of our activities to this end. This is to be done so that the results of such actions are felt more tangibly by working people, so that people can live and work more peacefully and securely, and in a better psychological atmosphere.

We will strive to ensure that society assimilates educational thought more fully and that that part of thought which concerns pathological inclinations provokes disquiet, so that conflict with the law does not pay and punishment--the inevitable consequence of crime--is particularly severe both morally and materially.

We will strike energetic blows against drunkenness (particularly in the workplace), drug abuse, speculation, theft, and against those who commit breaches of work discipline.

We want to improve knowledge of causes and not just of consequences. And we want to limit tangibly the effects of consequences. Numerous laws assist us greatly in this respect, although they are not always fully implemented. Some people attribute an all-powerful self-implementing quality to laws, whereas others do not appreciate their importance. Both extremes are erroneous and harmful.

Propaganda, especially television, radio, and television propaganda, constitutes a particularly important field for activity.

Their potency to expose wrong-doing must be intensified as well their role as disseminators of patterns of conduct and values worthy of emulation.

There is of course an entire panorama of traditional, national flaws. This is neither the time nor the place to list them all. Unkindness; deviations in interpersonal relations; the image of our compatriot abroad as someone engaged in speculation; the cult of money, money that is not always earned in an honest and legal way; quite widespread arrogance, and on the part of people exercising power—these things are irritating and are strikingly incompatible with national dignity.

Here and there the cult of the "Nanny" state has taken root, according to which the state is to assume the moral responsibility for looking after the poor parents of sometimes rich children. According to similar criteria it is made easier for a drunk injured in a street brawl to benefit from state sickness benefits. The responsibilities of people's power cannot be abused and remain unlimited in this field.

We intend to seek and demand fuller and more comprehensive support of a definite kind from science.

We are also counting on culture—and not only in the esthetic sense—but in the sense that it subordinates its educational function to answering the question: How do we teach people to live well? How should young people make use of their healthy ambitions and aspirations in the interests of society? There are also other questions and problems. Are we showing enough concern for the appropriate development and use of the cultural and educational infrastructure? Is, for example, the student dormitory or the worker hostel really a home, does it perform its educational functions?

It is primarily with youth in mind that we intend to realize this idea. Viewed from this standpoint the program extends into the future, into the 21st century.

General Kiszczak set out the position of the Council of Ministers Commission for Law Observance, Public Order, and Social Discipline, as well as that of the Ministry of Internal Affairs on the subjects under discussion. He said that the sources of pathology ought to be sought in history and tradition, as well as in the consequences of the slackening of the mechanisms of public life at the beginning of the 1980's, the spread of anarchist attitudes, and certain circles raising a lack of respect for conscientiously performed work and for good practices to the status of a civic virtue.

The speaker stated that crime is pathology in its extreme form. Since 1981 the number of crimes committed each year has constantly been increasing and the manner in which crimes are committed has become more ostentatious and brutal.

The incidence of crime is still high but it does provoke fewer fears than a year ago. There has been an improvement in crime detection. The effectiveness of preliminary proceedings has been improved. The first months of 1986 indicate that positive trends in the sphere of crime are persisting. Unfortunately, these changes do not affect all types of crime.

Certain crimes are still on the increase. Crimes against the family; crimes involving physical injury; criminal mismanagement, the misappropriation of public property; and financial and tax offences are all on the increase.

The speaker noted that the private sector, including Polish firms, accounts for barely 5 percent of national income and a little above 3 percent of total output, but accounts for 50 percent of the number of economic crimes committed. Cases that have come to light show that the Treasury would have suffered losses of the order of 23 million; society recovered this amount after a check on 283,000 enterprises was conducted by the Council of Ministers' Committee.

The cult of money, continued the speaker, the mirage of illegally but easily earned money; corruption; persistence in the belief that every matter can be dealt with, even if it is illegally; and ostentatious disregard for people who live modestly but honestly are all examples of phenomena that are contagious and create an atmosphere in which the law and principles of social life are not respected. Indicating ways of improving the situation, General Kiszczak called for consideration to be given to the usefulness of amending the law on cooperatives, which in its present form severely limits the possibility of controls being conducted by state organs.

One of the worst pathological phenomena tormenting our society is drunkenness and alcoholism. They pose a real threat to the biological development of society. It is estimated that in Poland there are about 5 million people who regularly abuse alcohol and almost 1 million who are suffering from alcoholism.

Almost 90 percent of those who start brawls, and commit assaults, and robberies are intoxicated at the time of committing the offence. More than 70 percent of those who committed criminal and economic crimes were under the influence of alcohol. About 10,000 people who cause or are the victims of road accidents are drunk at the time. Almost 160,000 drunk drivers are on public roads, and that is only the number of those who were found to be in such a condition when stopped by the militia.

In the opinion of the minister there is a strong possibility of limiting the scale of alcoholism if all available means are concentrated on ensuring that the duty of being sober at work is observed at every level, and on intensifying action against persons who are drunk in public places.

Drug abuse is a particularly severe form of pathology. It is estimated that there are about 200,000 persons in the country who come into contact with intoxicating substances, of whom 30,000 suffer from dependency, and more than 16,000 come into conflict with the law. The moral depravation of minors also has serious consequences. It is estimated that there are about 900,000 socially maladjusted young people and children.

Ending his speech, the speaker said that negative phenomena in the sphere of awareness exercise a significant influence on the moral character of society, phenomena such as a lack of a sense of the unity of laws and responsibilities; the conviction that it is permissible to circumvent the law if one stands to gain something by doing so; tolerance of various forms of scheming and cliques. Violations of laws and moral norms are facilitated by too little activity against the wrong that is committed in one's own milieu. The habit of waiting for something to be done from outside rather than take any risks oneself is quite widespread.

The minister stressed that law enforcement organs are guided by the inviolable principle that repression is an extreme measure to be employed when a clear breach of the law has occurred. The department of internal affairs is directing the main thrust of its efforts toward prevention, toward removing the causes of wrongdoing and the conditions which encourage it. The department regards its activities as a public service. Only public support can multiply the results produced by these activities. People who are honest and sensitive to wrongdoing are potential allies in the work of cleansing life and bringing about the moral rebirth of the nation. The speaker ended by saying that they should become actively involved in the struggle that is being waged.

Speaking at the close of the meeting, Wojciech Jaruzelski said that the exchange of views in such a representative and at the same time varied circle was very useful and wide-ranging, and was enriching for the participants in the meeting in terms of the valuable thoughts expressed and, in particular, in terms of the practical proposals made. The openness and sincerity with which issues of an intrinsically complex nature were raised deserves to be underscored.

He stressed that socialism by its very nature objectively creates conditions for improving social life and its moral values. However, this does not occur automatically. Conscious and energetic activity directed against pathological phenomena and perversions in interpersonal relations are needed. This need becomes even greater at times when social development is disrupted by crises and conflicts. It is also one of the essential elements of socialist renewal and a forum for national understanding.

Referring to the points made during the discussion, the chairman of the State Council drew attention to the need to expand preventive and educational activities, to the need to educate at work, and in particular to the need to observe broadly understood socialist social justice. This is of socioeconomic, educational, ideological and moral significance. He drew particular attention to the need to cultivate appropriate attitudes among young people.

Next, the chairman of the State Council spoke about the role of science and culture in cultivating appropriate attitudes in individuals and in society as a whole. Wojciech Jaruzelski also referred to those assessments

made during the discussion which drew attention to the need to combat criminal pathology and, above all, negative phenomena in collective life and customs, and he stressed the particular danger created by alcoholism, drug abuse, and a lack of respect for work and property.

All activities in this field call for the cultivation of a sense of universal social energy, a feeling of being the manager or co-manager of one's workplace, institution, and neighbourhood. This requires the development of a widely understood program of economic, legal, and historical education--education that is imbued with a spirit of concern for a strong and socialist state as the supreme good for the nation. Finally, the State Council chairman thanked all those who attended the meeting for their active participation, and assured them that appropriate use would be made of the proposals made during the discussion by the party and state authorities, especially during preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress. He also announced that similar meetings would take place in the future to provide a system for social assessment and inspiration in this exceptionally important field.

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CSO: 2600/410

POLITICS

POLAND

BRIEFS

AKTIVS CRITICIZE PZPR PROGRAM--PAP--During the 22 March meeting between Krakow party aktivs and Marian Orzechowski, it was stated that the PZPR program contains many goals but too few indications how these goals should be achieved. Those participating in the discussion at the meeting stressed that if, in view of the sad experience of the past, our present programs are cautious, we must not limit ourselves to "small steps" alone. Responding to these observations, M. Orzechowski recalled that although--following 13 December 1981--there were proposals within the party itself that the ninth party resolutions should abandon, these proposals were rejected. Today, he said, we approach the 10th party congress, searching for answers to the questions of how we have implemented the ninth congress resolutions and how to draw up a long-term program for the country's development up to the year 2000 on the basis of the spirit of these resolutions and of the experience of the past 40 years. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Mar 86 p 2 AU] /12858

FOREIGN MINISTRY CONSULTATIONS--PAP--Consultations have taken place between the deputy foreign ministers of the PPR and GDR, devoted to the developing countries. Taking part in the consultations on the GDR side was Deputy Minister G. Koenig, and on the Polish side Deputy Minister J. Majewski. G. Koenig was received by Foreign Minister M. Orzechowski and E. Kucza, director of the PZPR Central Committee Foreign Department. GDR Ambassador M. Neubauer was present. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Mar 86 p 2 AU] /12858

ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION INCREASES--According to preliminary estimates of the Central Statistical Office, the 1985 per capita consumption of pure alcohol in Poland amounted to 6.7 liters. Unfortunately, alcohol consumption continues to increase because in 1984 it amounted to 6.3 liter. The breakdown of the 1985 per capita alcohol consumption shows that 11.3 liters of vodka, 7.9 liters of wine, and 29.6 liters of beer were consumed compared with 10.6, 8.3, and 26.6 liters in 1984, respectively. The Central Statistical Office has not analyzed any other features of alcohol consumption, but the "Polmos" data show that, ignoring the peak in December and the low in January, there are no crucial differences in alcohol sales in other months. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2 Apr 86 p 2 AU] /12858

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

REPORTAGE ON VISIT BY LEBANESE PARLIAMENTARIANS

Ceausescu Receives Delegation

AU251840 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 25 Apr 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES—On April 25, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received a parliamentary delegation of the Republic of the Lebanon, led by Hussayn al-Hussayni, president of the National Assembly, now on a visit to Romania.

The delegation includes deputies Zaki Mazbuti and Farid Jubran.

The head of the delegation thanks for the opportunity to visit Romania, to get acquainted with achievements scored by the Romanian people in his homeland's many-sided development. Likewise, the guest was highly appreciative of Romania's foreign policy, of President Nicolae Ceausescu's international activity, of his peace initiatives and demarches for the settlement of the complex problems facing mankind. In that context, the president of the Lebanese Parliament praised Romania's constructive stand on the political resolution of the Middle East situation, the re-establishment of peace and quiet and the normalization of the economic and social life in Lebanon.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the appreciations and feelings expressed and addressed wishes of peace and prosperity to the friendly Lebanese people.

During the interview which passed in an atmosphere of warm friendship stress was laid on the fine Romanian-Lebanese relations as well as on the significance of top-level meetings which laid the foundations of the lasting links between the two countries. The wish was also expressed to diversify collaboration on various planes, to intensify cooperation on an international plane for the benefit of the two peoples, of the cause of peace, detente and international cooperation.

During the talks on current international issues, President Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that all states should rally their efforts to halt the arms race, to achieve a complex programme of general disarmament, nuclear in the first place, to ensure people's, nations' right to life and peace. The need was emphasized to intensify actions for a political, negotiated settlement of all litigious issues in various zones of the world.

President Nicolae Ceausescu set forth Romania's stance on a just and durable settlement of the Mideast situation. Stress was laid on the significance of calling an international conference with the participation of all concerned countries, including the PLO, other states which can contribute to a global, lasting resolution of the conflict in that region.

Referring to developments in Lebanon, it was stressed that everything possible should be done for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all over the Lebanese territory, for the achievement of a large reconciliation and collaboration of all Lebanese political and social forces by means of negotiations, to ensure the unity, national independence and sovereignty, the territorial integrity, the homeland's reconstruction, peace and quiet in that country.

Emphasis was placed on the important role of parliamentarians throughout the world in making their countries' governments adopt realistic solutions for the settlement of the major issues facing the contemporary world.

Nicolae Gisan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Romania attended the interview.

Parliamentarians Meet Press, Radio

AU261908 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1808 GMT 26 Apr 86

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 26/4/1986--The members of the Lebanese parliamentary delegation, headed by Husayn al-Husayni, president of the National Assembly of the Republic of Lebanon, met on April 26, with representatives of the Romanian press, radio and television.

The president of the Lebanese parliament expressed full satisfaction at the visit paid to Romania, at the opportunity to meet with President Nicolae Ceausescu, the guest expressed gratitude for the support Romania granted to his country in the settlement of the problems confronting the Lebanese people. Calling forth President Nicolae Ceausescu's numerous initiatives and demarches for the settlement of the issues in the Middle East in general, and of Lebanese crisis in particular, he also expressed admiration for the policies pursued by the Romanian head of state, policies characterized by firmness and commitment to the cause of peace, achievement of disarmament, nuclear first and foremost. The guest was highly appreciative of the summit dialogue in the promotion of the relations between the two countries on various planes. The head of the Lebanese delegation showed, inter alia, that new domains for the expansion and diversification of the relations between the two countries were singled out in Bucharest.

Group Concludes Visit

AU291242 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1218 GMT 29 Apr 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 29/4/1986--A parliamentary delegation of the Republic of Lebanon, headed by Hussayn al-Hussaini, president of the National Assembly that visited Romania invited by the Grand National Assembly, left Bucharest

on Tuesday. On leaving the guests were saluted by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, by deputies.

During their three-day Romanian visit, the Lebanese parliamentarians called on Romanian head of state Nicolae Ceausescu. On the occasions the sides expressed the joint wish to diversify the collaboration on multiple planes between the two countries and to intensify their collaboration in the international arena.

The guests also had interviews with Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, Ilie Vaduva, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Ioan Avram, Minister of Electric Energy, looking into possibilities to further expand the Romanian-Lebanese economic cooperation and trade exchanges.

During a press conference the President of the Lebanese Parliament expressed satisfaction at President Nicolae Ceausescu's receiving the delegation and at the results of the interviews they had with Romanian officials, considering them to be of a nature to give an impetus to the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples.

Message to Israel Labor Party Congress

AU091819 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1633 GMT 9 Apr 86

[Text] Tel Avia AGERPRES 9/4/1986--During the proceedings of the Israel Labour Party congress, an address of salute from the Romanian Communist Party was ready by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, head of RCP delegation to the congress.

In behalf of the CC of the RCP, of its general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, a friendly salute was conveyed to the delegates to the Israel Labour Party congress, to all the members of the party and sincere wishes of peace and prosperity to the Israeli people.

The RCP--the address of salute shows [as received]--follows with keen interest the activity of the Israel Labour Party.

Stress is laid on the positive evolution of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two parties and the belief is expressed that these links, based on the principles of mutual esteem and respect, will continue to develop, in the future too, in the interests of strengthening the friendship between the two peoples, of the expansion of manysided cooperation between Romania and Israel, of the cause of peace, security and international collaboration.

The RCP and Romania, deeply concerned over the situation in the Middle East, which can at any time spell danger at [as received] peace--the address of salute reads--actively and steadily work for a political, global solution to the situation in the region, conducive to the achievement of a just and durable peace, based on Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in the wake of the 1967 war, on the recognition of the Palestinian people's

legitimate rights, and its right to self-determination and the independent statehood included, on the guaranteeing of the security and territorial integrity of all states in the area. In this respect, it was stressed in conclusion, we are for the cessation of military actions, for the beginning and unfolding of talks to find acceptable solutions for all the sides in conflict. Romania is for the calling of an international conference under the UN aegis, with the participation of all concerned countries, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Soviet Union and the United States, other members in the Security Council and other states which can make a positive contribution to the settlement of the Mideast situation.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

USSR ENVOY MARKS CULTURAL TIES WITH ROMANIA

AU071807 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1715 GMT 7 Apr 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 7/4/1986—On the 30th anniversary of the signing of the cultural cooperation agreement between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the USSR, the ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, E.M. Tyazheinkin, organized a friendly meeting on Monday, April 7.

Executives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, representatives of central institutions, artists and men of letters were in the attendance.

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CSO: 2020/127

2 June 1986

POLITICS

ROMANIA

IVASCU ADDRESSES IPU ON DISARMAMENT INITIATIVES

AU091540 Bucharest ASERPRES in English 1437 GMT 9 Apr 86

[Text] Mexico City AGERPRES 9/4/1986--In his address to the 75th conference of the Interparliamentary Union [IPU] that holds proceedings in Mexico City, Romanian Chief Delegate Marin Ivascu, deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly, chairman of the Romanian Group of the Interparliamentary Union, highlighted the topical character and importance of President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiatives meant to lead to the achievement of disarmament, nuclear above all, to a lasting peace in Europe and the world over. He also pointed to the need for all states' active participation in the efforts toward the achievement this year--the International Year of Peace--of a switch on the line of establishing a climate of peace, collaboration and understanding. He presented Romania's proposals regarding the implementation of a complex programme of nuclear and conventional disarmament, stressing the urgent need for stepping up the works in the relevant negotiation fora.

Reiterating Romania's firm position on the need for force and threat of force to be definitely given up in international relations, the Romanian representative advocated intensified efforts toward solving all states of conflict by peaceful, negotiated means exclusively.

In this context, emphasis was placed on the significance of the declaration of the Grand National Assembly on the International Year of Peace--circulated as a document of the conference--that illustrates pregnantly the Romanian people's firm will to closely collaborate with all peoples in view of accomplishing mankind's great ideals of living in a world of peace and collaboration. The Romanian representative highlighted the lofty responsibilities incumbent today upon parliaments in the resumption of the policy of detente, understanding and collaboration, the need for the Interparliamentary Union's more active involvement in the just and durable settlement of contemporary world's issues in the intefests and with the participation of all states.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

RCP'S STOIAN MEETS ISRAEL'S HERZOG, SHAMIR

AU101255 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1222 GMT 10 Apr 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 10/4/1986—A message of salute as well as the best wishes of good health and happiness, of peace and welfare for the Israeli people were conveyed to Hayim Herzog, president of the State of Israel, on behalf of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu.

Thanking for the wishes expressed, Hayim Herzog asked that President Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a cordial salute, wishes of good health and personal happiness, of progress and prosperity for the Romanian people.

The exchange of messages was occasioned by the call paid on the president of the State of Israel by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, head of the RCP delegation attending the Israel Labour Party Congress.

During the interview questions were approached relating to the growth of Romanian-Israeli ties, as well as aspects of the international life.

Ion Stoian also met Yitzhaq Shamir, deputy premier and foreign minister of the State of Israel.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

AGRICULTURE MINISTER DAVID MEETS WITH USSR'S KUZNETZOV

AU191354 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1045 GMT 19 Apr 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 19/4/1986—A Soviet delegation headed by L.N. Kuznetsov, deputy-chairman of the State Committee for the Agroindustrial Complex of the USSR, paid a visit to Romania.

The guests conducted talks with Gheorghe David, Romanian minister of agriculture and met with executives of the Ministry of Food Industry and Purchase of Farm Product. Possibilities of developing and diversifying the Romanian-Soviet cooperation in agriculture and food industry were analyzed.

A protocol on technico-scientific collaboration in 1986 between the relevant ministries and organs in the two countries was signed.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

AGERPRES REVIEWS COOPERATION WITH SRI LANKA

AU251758 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1753 GMT 25 Apr 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 25/4/1986—The Prime Minister of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, Ranasinghe Premadasa, will arrive in Bucharest on Friday afternoon for an official visit to Romania, where he is to talk with Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu on the current stage and prospects of bilateral relations in various domains.

In the spirit of its policy of solidarity with the peoples that embarked on the road of free existence, Romania has relations of friendship and collaboration with Sri Lanka which see an ascending course and steady improvement. Diplomatic relations were established between the two countries 29 years ago.

In the favourable atmosphere created by the positive course of political ties commercial exchanges and economic cooperation diversified according to the payment and trade agreement and to the agreement on economic and technical cooperation, Romania assisted Sri Lanka to building important economic units like the woodworking complex in Arissauela and a tractor assembly line, the first in that country. As for goods exchanges, Romania delivers railway cars, trucks, four-wheel drive cars, compressors to Sri Lanka, and receives from it products specific to its export.

During mutual visits concrete measures and actions were set apt to help the expansion of bilateral commercial exchanges, the further development of collaboration and cooperation between the two countries in machine building, chemistry, the power industry, agriculture, and other sectors of mutual interest.

The governmental agreement on cooperation in science and culture, and other bilateral understandings contribute to expanding exchanges of spiritual values, and intensifying friendly ties. Beside young people of other developing countries, youths from Sri Lanka also study in various higher learning units in Romania.

The two countries also cooperate productively on an international plane, within the group of 77 and at the UN just as in other international bodies for world detente, peace, independence and collaboration.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

SCINTEIA MARKS AFGHANISTAN NATIONAL DAY

AU071321 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Apr 86 p 6

[Editorial article on the eighth anniversary of the April Revolution, the National Day of Afghanistan, celebrated on 27 April]

[Text] On 27 April the Afghan people celebrate the eighth anniversary of the Democratic People's Revolution of Spring 1978, which put an end to the domination of feudal circles and opened the path to some socioeconomic changes of a progressive character. These changes are all the more significant since, as is well known, Afghanistan (area: 655,000 square kilometers; population: 18 million) is a country that inherited a very difficult economic situation. At the same time when the revolution broke out, the overwhelming majority of the peasants (85 percent of the population) lacked land and led a life of extreme poverty. Therefore, one of the first measures to be adopted after the installation of the new power was the accomplishment of the agrarian reform, which provides distribution of land to peasants without land and the setting up of agricultural production cooperatives. At the same time, the Kabul authorities took action to develop industry by building new productive capacities, schools, hospitals, cultural institutions, and others. During the recent meeting of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, it was reiterated that last year the volume of gross national product exceeded the 1979 indicator by 6.2 percent and the national income by 5.5 percent; thousands of peasant families received land and 425 new agricultural cooperatives were set up; in various parts of the country 60 important economic objectives have been built.

The Romanian people followed and are following with sympathy the efforts of the Afghan people to build a new life, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Relations of friendship and cooperation, based on the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage are developing between the SR of Romania and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. In keeping with its principled position, our country spoke out and is speaking out for a political settlement, through negotiations, of the problems concerning Afghanistan, and for solutions which can ensure the sovereignty and independence of Afghanistan, put an end to any outside interference, and create the possibility for the Afghan people independently to solve problems of their socioeconomic development on the road of progress, according to their own wishes.

Our country believes that deepening the Romanian-Afghan relations is in accordance with the interests of the two countries and peoples, and the cause of peace and understanding throughout the world.

POLITICS

ROMANIA

NICU CEAUSESCU ATTENDS YOUTH MEETING IN MOSCOW

AU281953 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1922 GMT 28 Apr 86

[Text] Moscow AGERPRES 28/4/1986--A delegation of the Union of Communist Youth of Romania led by Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the CC of the UCY, participated in Moscow in a consultative meeting with leaders of youth organizations in socialist countries.

During the meeting, opinions, information and experience were exchanged with regard to the current preoccupations of the young generation and its contribution, along with the peoples, under the leadership of communist and workers' parties, to the socioeconomic development of the respective countries.

A number of specific modalities and actions were highlighted whereby the youth can contribute to the implementation of the provisions set under bi- and multi-lateral economic agreements reached at summit level, under the long-term programmes for economic and technical-scientific collaboration concluded within the CMEA included.

The UCY chief delegate outlined the active participation of the young generation in Romania in the whole people's efforts, in the attainment of the targets set by the thirteenth congress of the RCP.

It was stressed that these days, when the whole nation makes preparations for the 65th foundation anniversary of the RCP, the homeland's young generation proved its attachment to the homeland and the party.

Furthermore, emphasis was placed on the active stance of the Romanian youth who, in the spirit of the principles of the foreign policy promoted by the RCP and the Romanian state, of President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiatives on an international plane, militates consistently for the strengthening of the generation's unity of action in the fight for peace, disarmament, for a better and more just world.

The meeting passed in a friendly atmosphere of mutual esteem and understanding.

/7051

CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

ORGANIZATION, FUNCTIONING OF YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

AU011447 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0958 GMT 1 May 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 1/5/1986—Enjoying the same constitutional rights and freedoms as all the country's citizen, the Romanian young people also have specific rights and are provided congenial conditions for the development of their physical and intellectual aptitudes. The Romanian laws provide for a series of specific aspects related to how the young people exert their social rights. The constitution, the labor code, the education law stipulate that state organs have special obligations to ensure, through the public education system and other specialized organisms, the schooling and employment of the young people, in keeping with their professional skills, personal abilities and aptitudes.

As for the young people's right to work, education and learning, Romania is one of the few countries of the world where there is no unemployment and illiteracy. The state provides the necessary facilities for the schooling and professional training of the youth and jobs for the graduates.

The Romanian society protects minors and provides general protection for the youth who work or are engaged in other social activities. According to the labor code, youngsters under 18 may not take jobs where conditions can seriously damage their health, and are not allowed to work extra hours. Youngsters in the 14-16 age bracket work six hours per day without cuts in their pay for this. Holidays granted to youngsters who work observe law provisions so that the younger they are the longer the holidays.

For the Romanian youth, the participation, the exercise of political rights—a major desideratum of the contemporary youth—are facts. They are granted the right to vote at 18, and the right to be elected deputies in the CNA [Grand National Assembly] and People's Councils at 23. The first secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth] is a member de jure of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, is minister for Youth Affairs and is a member of the country's government. The secretaries of youth organizations at a ministry level are members de jure of their managerial councils and the secretaries in departments, enterprises and institutes are members de jure in the working people councils, as deputy chairmen of these organisms of collective management.

By virtue of the constitution the young people in Romania have the right to association and organization. Over 793,000 young people aged up to 30 are RCP members, accounting for some 23 percent of the party's total strength; young people working in enterprises and institutions are TU members and young women are members of the Women's Movement. In turn, the young writers and artists are members of Creative Artists' Unions and are represented in their leading bodies.

According to their own rules of organization and functioning the youth organizations ensure the debate by the young generation of their specific life, work and learning questions.

A complex material base at the Romanian youth's disposal allows for the organization of cultural-artistic and sporting events: town and village houses of Culture, clubs, libraries, sports grounds, tourist and entertainment places. Carrying on activity in economic units, schools and faculties are literary and fine arts circles, cinceclubs, scientific research and invention groups, as well as the most diverse artistic groups in which the young people assert themselves as producers of spiritual assets and beneficiary of the cultural act. As for the young people's participation in the sports movement we should mention that there are 14,377 sports associations and clubs with a membership of almost four million availing of 12,000 sports developments for all sports, 500 stadia and gymnastics and athletics halls, swimming pools.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

VISITING IOC CHAIRMAN MEETS JOURNALISTS

AU021343 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1229 GMT 2 May 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 2/5/1986—During a May 2 interview with Romanian journalists, International Olympic Committee Chairman Juan Antonio Samaranch expressed the International Olympic forum's special appreciation of Romania's contribution to the assertion of the Olympic ideals of unity and understanding. He welcomed the development witnessed by the physical education and sports activities in Romania, this explaining the great successes achieved by the Romanian athletes in the international arena, as well as the important share held by the physical exercises in the everyday life of the youth, of Romania's inhabitants.

Answering questions asked by the journalists, the IOC chairman referred to problems covering the present and the future of the Olympic movement.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

NICU CEAUDESCU MEETS SPANISH CP YOUTH LEADER

AU041857 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1808 GMT 4 Apr 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 4/4/1986—Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth], met on Friday, April 4, with a delegation of the Union of Communist Youth of Spain led by Jesus Maria Montero, secretary-general of the organization, that paid a visit to Romania upon the invitation of the UCY.

During the interview experience and opinions were exchanged regarding the current preoccupations of the two youth organizations as well as aspects of the international youth movement.

Stress was laid on the joint willingness to further develop bilateral ties of friendship and collaboration between the Union of Communist Youth of Romania and the Union of Communist Youth of Spain as a specific contribution to amplifying the traditional relations between the two countries and peoples, for the benefit of the cause of peace, security, democracy and progress, and the building of a better and more just world on this planet.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES SPANISH COMMUNIST OFFICIAL

AU052040 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0750 GMT 5 May 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 5/5/1986—On Monday, May 5, the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, Nicolae Ceausescu, received Santiago Carrillo, chairman of the Commission on the Spanish Communists' Unity, now on a visit to Romania.

The guest expressed keen thanks for the interview he was granted and for the opportunity to meet again with the RCP and Romanian state leader.

During the interview—the atmosphere of which was friendly, comradely—questions were approached of the international communist and working class movement, of the struggle for democracy and peace. In context, Nicolae Ceausescu laid stress on the significance of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the communist and worker parties in each country, on their role in building up the unity of action of the democratic forces in the struggle to defend the working people's rights and liberties, for democracy and progress. Emphasis was placed on the importance of strengthening collaboration and solidarity between communist and worker parties, based on equality, on each party's right to independently work out its political line, of cooperation with socialist and social-democratic parties, with all progressive, anti-imperialist forces in the fight to solve the major problems that confront mankind, for disarmament, nuclear first and foremost, for peace, for all people's economic and social progress, for a better and more just world.

The interview was attended by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

After the interview Nicolae Ceausescu invited Santiago Carrillo to dinner.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

WAN LI, DINCA AT ROMANIAN INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION IN BEIJING

AU062053 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 6 May 86

[Text] Beijing AGERPRES 6/5/1986—On May 6 a Romanian industrial exhibition opened at the International Exhibition Centre in the capital of the People's China.

On more than 7,000 sq. m. exhibits of the electronic, electrotechnological, machine-building, chemical, building materials, consumer and food industries are on display, mirroring the high standard of development of the Romanian economy.

Present at the festivity occasioned by the opening of the exhibition were Wan Li, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, vice-premier; Qian Qichen, deputy foreign minister; Li Shuzheng, deputy head of section for foreign relations of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, heads of foreign trade enterprises, representatives of central economic institutions, journalist and a large public.

Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister of Romania, participated.

In the addresses made on the occasion the participants pointed out the joint wish to find new ways and possibilities to further develop and diversify the bilateral economic cooperation and the trade exchanges.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

SCIENTIFIC SESSION MARKS 65TH RCP ANNIVERSARY

AU062118 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 6 May 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 6/5/1986—Tuesday, May 6, Bucharest hosted a national scientific session devoted to the celebration of 65 years since the setting up of the RCP, on the theme: "The Romanian Communist Party—a party of the Great Revolutionary Changes, Leader of the Work of Building the Multilaterally Developed Society and of Romania's Progress Towards Communism. The Revolutionary Thinking and Action of Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu—a Contribution of Unfathomable Value to Improving the Theory and Practice of the Socialist Construction."

Organized by the National Council of Science and Education and the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the proceedings were attended by full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee, secretaries of the CC of the RCP, members of the Party Central Committee, heads of mass and public organizations, people working in enterprises and institutions of Bucharest, personalities of the scientific and cultural life, party and state activists.

The opening speech was made by Petru Enache, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

The following read papers: Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP; Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP; Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP; Miu Dobrescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Central Party Collegium; Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP; Ion Ursu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology; Lina Ciobanu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania; and Ilie Vaduva, member of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs.

The participants in the national scientific session sent a telegram to RCP general secretary, president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu.

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CSO: 2020/127

POLITICS

ROMANIA

IMPORTANCE OF LITERATURE IN COMBATING RELIGION

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 Mar 86 p 2

[Article by Gh. Bratescu: "The Scientific-Materialistic Outlook, a Defining Dimension of the New, Socialist Consciousness"]

[Text] The formation of the new, socialist consciousness, of the spiritual makeup of the new man, with a multilateral personality, a conscious builder of socialism and communism, mastering fully the unitary theoretical and ideological outlook on the world and life, constitutes the essential objective of the vast activity of scientific-materialistic and revolutionary-humanistic education performed in our country.

Naturally, however, the affirmation of a unitary outlook does not occur smoothly or in the narrow sense of uniformization, of docile acceptance, without opinions, of one thesis or another, but presupposes categorically a continual struggle between the old and the new, between different views concerning the better organization of the production forces, of social relations, of the life of the whole society. Precisely this struggle, based on unitary production relations, on the strong development of science and culture, of human knowledge, opens up new, noble and glorious ways of improvement in life and social relations. Only through thought and work has man known himself, formed and improved himself as an element of nature, transforming nature and society at the same time. Understanding this objective process, the revolutionary view that leads to this understanding, the thought that there are no phenomena that cannot be known, but only some that are not yet known, seems logical. Hence the requirement of continually unraveling the new puzzles of nature and life in order to be able to profitably put them in the service of mankind's civilization, well-being, and happiness.

One trait of the new man is the capacity to understand the laws of nature, life, the universe as a whole, the relationships existing between man and nature. This is why, by its very essence, the socialist, communist society is opposed to the forms of religious alienation, with scientific-materialistic and revolutionary-humanistic education having the mission of showing with crystal clearness that the truly human experience, man's fulfillment as man, cannot be provided by beliefs in illusions, but in one's own power of thought and work. Obviously, solid arguments and reasons, which cannot be constructed except by strongly and continually combining scientific knowledge with life experiences, are necessary in order to reach such a result of persuasion.

This vast set of problems is presented in detail in a recent volume, "Indreptar pentru educatia materialist-stiintifica, umanist-revolutionara a tineretului" [A Handbook for the Scientific-Materialistic, Revolutionary-Humanistic Education of Young People] (Politica Publishing House), under the coordination of researchers Gh. Crasnea and Ion Strugariu. The book, on which a large staff of university teaching personnel, scientific researchers, and journalists collaborated, tackles topics of major importance like "The Attitude of the Romanian Communist Party and of Our Socialist State Toward Religion, the Church, and Believers Under the Conditions of the Strengthening of the Social and Political Unity of the Whole Populace in the Struggle To Construct Socialism and Communism" (Octavian Nistor), "Humanism and Religion, the New Man, Endowed With an Advanced, Scientific-Materialistic Outlook on the World and Life—the Creator of the Material and Spiritual Values of Society. The Anachronism of Mystical, Reactionary Mentalities and Preconceptions" (Dumitru Ghise), "The Outlook on the World and Life—a Condition for Conscious Existence. The Human Condition's Ascension and the Confrontations of Values Concerning the World and Life" (Paul Popescu-Neveanu), "Religion and Social Life" (Gheorghe Vladutescu), "The Social and Political Changes Appearing in the Principal Religions of the Contemporary World—Their Contradictory Implications for the Progress of Humanity" (Georgeta Florea), "The Sectarian Religious Phenomenon in the Contemporary World" (Ana Balasa), "Religious Sects—an Inhuman Assault on the Dignity and Freedom of the Younger Generation, a Factor of Moral and Intellectual Pollution of Its Personality" (Serban Cionoff), "Mental Life and Mystical, Religious Speculations" (Adina Chelcea, Septimiu Chelcea), "The Incompatibility Between the Norms and Principles of Socialist and Communist Ethics and the Precepts of Religious Morals" (Florin Georgescu), "The Laical Essence and Humanistic Substance of Romanian Folklore" (Alexandru Dobre), "The Role of the Education of Thinking in Rejecting the Irrationalism Characteristic of Religious Beliefs" (Petre Bieltz), "The System of Methodical Action in the Scientific-Materialistic and Revolutionary-Humanistic Education of Young People" (Aculin Cazacu), and "Scientific Research on the Sociology and Psychology of Religion in Support of the Atheistic, Scientific-Materialistic Education of Young People" (Petre Datculescu). A recent "Mic dictionar pentru educatia materialist-stiintifica, umanist-revolutionara a tineretului" [Small Dictionary for the Scientific-Materialistic, Revolutionary-Humanistic Education of Young People] (Paul Popescu-Neveanu), put out by the CC al UTC [Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth] for the information of young people and edited by Dr Octavian Chetan and sociologist Gh. Crasnea, also enters into the same spirit.

Continuing an older collection, the Politica Publishing House also achieved a new volume of "Intrebari si raspunsuri la probleme de educatie ateista a tineretului" [Questions and Answers on Matters of Atheistic Education of Young People]; the volume, on which well-known researchers in this field collaborated, includes topics of great interest grouped into three categories. The first part is devoted to matters connected with religiosity, the history of religions, and sectology. The second part groups articles on new gains of knowledge in fields like astronomy, philosophy, ethics, scientology, mysticism and its harmful effects, etc. Finally, the last part is devoted to various aspects of scientific-materialistic education.

The volume "Omul, stiinta si religia" [Man, Science, and Religion] (Simion Asandei), achieved under the editorship of the Militara Publishing House, is a remarkable publishing appearance also of recent date. The work proposes to discuss the vast problems of man in the view of science, of dialectical and historical materialism, in opposition to religious outlooks. Some aspects regarding the position of science and religion in explaining the appearance of man, of society, are pointed out; the confrontations of ideas in the field of the interpretation of life and of the world, going from the earliest times to our times; the contemporary religious phenomenon and the changes that have occurred in its evolution. The author, analyzing aspects connected with the appearance and development of atheistic thought, with the origin, place, and role of religions, their current status, and the triumphant ascension of science, of human knowledge, has proposed to point out man's place in the world, the splendor of human thought and creation in all fields of economic, social, and spiritual life.

The final objective--the transformation of the people, the arming of them with the advanced outlooks on life and society that dialectical and historical materialism confers and with the most complex problems, knowledge, and conclusions of science--represents a work of great scope. Seen from this viewpoint, the educational-ideological work of continually developing the socialist consciousness requires perseverance, patience, and work filled with responsibility, it being viewed as a continual task of all people who perform their activity in the ideological field.

12105

CSO: 2700/141

POLITICS

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

GADEA ADDRESSES OPENING—Bucharest AGERPRES 30/4/1986—Starting April 30 Bucharest is the venue of the exhibition "65 years since the foundation of the Romanian Communist Party" and of a homage-paying plastic art exhibition. Suzana Gadea, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, addressed the public at the opening festivities. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 30 Apr 86 AU] /7051

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES ALFARO—Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/4/1986—On Tuesday, April 29, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, received Luis Wybo Alfaro, ambassador of the United Mexican States in Bucharest, on a farewell call at the end of his mission in Romania. The talk conducted on the occasion passed in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1448 GMT 29 Apr 86 AU] /7051

TREATY WITH ZAMBIA RATIFIED—Bucharest AGERPRES 11/3/1986—The instruments of ratification of the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Zambia, signed by Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Kenneth David Kaunda in Lusaka, were exchanged in Bucharest, on March 11. The exchange was made by Constantin Oancea, deputy foreign minister, and Gibson R. Zimba, ambassador of the Republic of Zambia in Bucharest. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1647 GMT 11 Mar 86 AU] /7051

CHINESE ART EXHIBITION—On March 27 a Chinese art exhibition opened at the Palace of Culture in Iasi. Ivory sculptures, china, pictures, and other works of Chinese craftsmanship are exhibited there. The opening was attended by representatives of the local party and state bodies, the Romanian Institute for Foreign Relations, and the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association and by men of arts and culture and a great number of visitors. Also in attendance were members of the PRC Embassy in Bucharest. [Summary] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Mar 86 p 5 AU] /7051

SOUTH AFRICAN DELEGATION—A delegation of the South African Development Coordination Conference [SADCC], a regional organization including Angola, Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, and Lesotho, paid a visit to our country. The delegation was led by Rui Baltazar dos Santos Alves, deputy chairman of the SADCC Ministerial Council and finance minister of the People's Republic of Mozambique. The guests held meetings at the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Trade

and International Economic Cooperation, and other economic ministries. On this occasion, the possibilities of developing economic cooperation and collaboration between Romania and the SADCC member countries in various areas and ways and means for expanding and diversifying bilateral commercial relations were examined. An exchange of views regarding some international problems of joint interest also took place. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Mar 86 p 5 AU] /7051

CSO: 2020/127

BRIEFS

DRINKING LAW URGED—There are an estimated 500,000 'heavy drinkers' in Hungary and more of them are becoming alcoholics every year. Five years ago there were 200,000 registered alcoholics, today the figure stands at 422,000. Only 54,000 are being treated presently but since treatment does not last long enough and does not begin in good time only 20 percent of those treated are cured. The reasons are that hospital beds are few, there is no room in sanatoriums and necessary equipment and doctors and nurses are in short supply. On the basis of this information, the deputies of the Social Affairs and Health Committee, at their meeting on 11 April have adopted a resolution which calls for a new law or legal decree which will place significantly stiffer obstructions in the way of spreading alcohol consumption and more money to be allocated for treatment and prevention of alcoholism than has been up to now. [Text] [Budapest Home Service 1000 GMT 11 Apr 86] /12232

CSO: 2500/269

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JPRS-EER-86-082

3 JUNE 1986

East Europe Report

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AGRICULTURE

POLAND

MAJOR INVESTMENT POLICY CHANGES URGED TO AID AGRICULTURE

Warsaw WIES WSPOLCZESNA in Polish No 2, Feb 86 pp 28-37

[Article by Wladyslaw Szymanski: "Economic Policy and Its Effects on the Development of Polish Agriculture"]

[Text] The Effects of Extensive Development on Agriculture

Economic conditions in agriculture are a derivative of the overall economic situation and above all the conditions found in nonagricultural sectors of the economy. These conditions are the result of long-term economic policy and an adequate system of economic policy. The centralized economy that existed in 1950-81 is now being critically viewed. Long-term extensive development and lack of progress in the growth of efficiency were the result of program errors and weaknesses in the management system. The centralized system played a positive role only in the starting period of intensive industrialization when it was necessary to concentrate resources to develop new industries, when industrialization made it necessary to accumulate resources by making sacrifices in other areas and when drastic changes in the structure of production, trades and urban life were necessary. Once the new structures were created and efficiency, equilibrium and quality became the leading tasks of our economy, centralized planning and administration began to limit growth to an every-increasing degree. This system generated a type of development that required more and more investments. Not only did it fail to limit material and energy consumption, but it actually increased the demand for these resources and made it impossible to create a more flexible production apparatus and conditions for a good and balanced market.

In observing how the economic policy and the system of functioning introduced after the war have influenced the growth of Polish agriculture over the last 40 years, we can see how much this influence has varied. During the first period, the effects were mostly positive ones. Intensive industrialization, agricultural reform and the settlement of the recovered western territories made it possible to solve what had once been the most urgent problems of Polish agriculture. The possibilities of employment outside of agriculture and the settlement of the recovered lands eliminated overpopulation of farms and rural unemployment. Educational establishments contributed much to giving rural youth a better start in life. Farm overpopulation and low demand for

agricultural products are different sides of the same problem and were two of the chief concerns of Polish agriculture in the period between world wars. Industrialization and a constant rise in nonagricultural employment not only helped to eliminate farm overpopulation but also contributed to the enormous increase in the market's absorption of agricultural products. A chronic excess of demand for agricultural products over their supply became a lasting and important characteristic of the economic conditions under which agriculture functioned in the postwar period.

The demand for the agricultural work force and products is favorable for agricultural growth only when the economy can offer farmers the right prices and income and the necessary supply of industrial articles which will in turn allow farmers to produce enough food to meet the growing demand. This means an increase in the supply of resources necessary to a direct growth in production but also the resources needed to change methods of agricultural production when farms are constantly losing people to other economic sectors.

Unfortunately, it can be said that extensive, investment-intensive types of economic growth generate demand for the farm work force and enormous demand for agricultural products. At the same time, this type of growth cannot maintain a proper supply of means of production to guarantee the right amount of progress in the modernization and growth of agriculture. A characteristic of extensive and investment-intensive development is the overly-high disproportion between production commitment and activity, its final results and the high internal consumption of production. From the same production of basic materials and energy we have gained significantly fewer final (consumer and investment) products. The expression of this type of development is above all the fact that our economy is presently more than 250 percent more energy-intensive than the economies of western European nations. We use 250 percent more steel and twice as much cement as those countries and have a more than three times greater turnover of products and shipment in ton-kilometers per unit of national income.

Under the above conditions, extensive development required an enormous growth in production of basic materials per unit of growth in national income. This therefore compelled high and capital-intensive investments made at the expense of production of consumer articles. At the same time, the enormous share of material-producing industries sectors has given preference to high employment in those sectors at the expense of employment in industries producing consumer goods. This has created enormous inflationary pressure and makes it difficult to balance the market. Work forces cannot be shifted to modern production and services if a high level of internal consumption of materials and inefficiency in their production absorb a large amount of labor. Such an employment structure is clearly inflation-prone because it gives preference to employment in sector I (production of the means of production) at the expense of sector II (production of consumer goods). The wage preference given sector I and the poor equipment and low productivity in sector II has created an excess of demand over the supply of consumer goods and services. This material- and energy-intensive type of development was encouraged by the formation of industrial pressure groups. Branch particularism in the postwar period has contributed to the privileged status given the development of heavy industry

and material production and growth investments made at the cost of modernization and to the preference given investment expansion at the cost of balance and efficiency. The ideas that were correct in the first few postwar years have now been applied to the entire 40 years since then.

On the one hand, this type of development contributed to the continuing demand for labor from farms needed for the growing materials industries. On the other hand, however, the poor growth of industries producing consumer goods and the constant imbalance and inflationary tendencies have maintained a continuous excess of demand over supply of agricultural products.

This type of development not only maintained pressure or a high level of investment but also tended to increase the amount of inefficient long-term investments at the expense of modernization and development of newer industries and this in turn helped to more firmly establish material-intensive structures and imbalance. Imbalance making pressure for efficiency impossible helped to maintain the high material intensiveness of industry and the old structures. Preferences for material and energy investments had to limit investments not only on industrial production of consumer goods and so-called human investments but also any investments on agriculture or the food industries. This largely explains the chronic inability of industry to keep up with the needs of agriculture and the constant poor adaptation of the food industry to the present development of agriculture's material base. With such a high level of commitment of investment resources to the material and energy industries, there was a shortage of resources in all other areas of the economy. Competition for resources was sharp and this too led to reduced investments in agriculture and the food industry in general. In spite of the national income's high percentage of investment and the large percentage of investment on production, the high degree of material- and energy-intensiveness made it difficult not only to manage proper investments on the B-group industries (consumer goods) and agriculture but also the investments in sector III (trade, housing and other nonproductive spheres).

From an agricultural point of view, this was very significant. A low level of efficiency limiting the money spent on so-called human investments has above all led to fewer opportunities for any growth in housing construction. Underdevelopment of housing construction strongly limited the mobility of our work force. For agriculture, the poor level of housing construction strongly reduced worker migration from farms and this led to the tendency for farmers to have two professions, produced enormous costs for transportation to and from work and forced the rural population to bear the heavy cost of housing construction. A poor level of housing construction also caused a significant growth in the percentage of nonfarmers living in rural areas (from 20 to over 50 percent).

Bearing the expense of transportation to and from work, having less time for relaxation and combining farming with jobs in industry is not only the invaluable contribution that our peasant-workers made to the industrialization of the country but was also the result of extensive growth and poor progress in increasing efficiency.

The persistence of two professions on farms which has chiefly been the result of the inability to migrate has been one of the most significant barriers to improvement of the agrarian structure and the modernization of agriculture.

Extensive development has contributed strongly to reducing the classic pressure for lowering costs and to diminishing the productivity and improvement of the agrarian structure. This pressure has manifested itself only when the barrier of demand was encountered on the agricultural market. The demand barrier limits possibilities for a rise in purchase prices and this in turn eliminates producers that operate under higher costs and lower productivity. One of the chief means of raising productivity and lowering costs is improving the agrarian structure. Meanwhile, under extensive forms of development, a chronic phenomenon is high income flexibility in the demand for food. A continually and rapidly growing demand for food articles is then the result of poor development of nonagricultural consumer goods and services. This phenomenon is enhanced when price policy is aimed at redistributing income. This leads to relatively low food prices in relation to the prices of other items. The continuation of a high and growing demand for food and the large role of agricultural exports makes it necessary to give preferences to increased production rather than increased productivity in agricultural labor. When there is good demand for agricultural products, the goal of agricultural policy becomes the productivity of the land rather than the productivity of farm work. The amount of produce per hectare is very often higher on small farms than but this is often at the expense of productivity and higher costs. However, under conditions of extensive development, it is important that this be production requiring relatively low supplies from industry and that is a condition hard to attain. It is above all significant that extensive development has weakened the mechanism for improving the agrarian structure by causing the labor force to leave agricultural for other areas of employment. The mechanism grows weaker as the natural increment throughout the country and in the rural areas in particular rises. At the same time, extensive development restricts any mechanism for improving the agrarian structure caused by pressure to increase productivity and lower costs. Our obsolete agrarian structure is a clear example of this.

It would be enormously beneficial to agriculture if the the economy were efficient enough to adapt itself to the reforms already instituted and structural changes were made for intensive development and higher efficiency. Above all, the economy would be able to provide greater resources for modernizing agriculture and the increased opportunities to expand housing construction would favor greater migration without harming agricultural production. Greater opportunities to increase industrial production of consumer goods and services and a higher dynamic in real income would increase the demand for agricultural products. This would not threaten the demand for labor from the agricultural sector but only change the structure of the demand (the demand from sector III) and give much greater possibilities to compensate for the loss of labor from farms by introducing modern farming equipment. Intensive development is the dominance of economic compulsion to lower costs and improve quality. This compulsion is the derivative of equilibrium and producer confrontation with demand barriers. After some time, this would limit any possibility for purchase prices to rise and that would have to

increase pressure to lower costs. This would increase the weeding out of weaker producers and create fine incentives for improving the agrarian structure.

Mechanism Affecting the Equilibrium and Creating Demand For Food Items

Extensive development, poor quality and lack of progress in achieving efficiency are outwardly expressed in pressure to create excessive expenses in relation to the real potential of the entire economy and in relation to the supply of market goods and services in particular. For agriculture, imbalance is the chief threat to its long-term growth. Persisting imbalance leads to poor regulation and therefore insufficient motivation to produce. The influx of money without the backing of products undermines any sense in obtaining money. When there is a shortage of products, the winner is the one who stands closest to their sources and therefore the direct recipient of deficit goods. Cities are closer to the sources of industrial wares than are the villages. This means that not only do the rural areas suffer from a shortage of consumer goods but also from a shortage of the means of production. This has resulted in an entire system of speculation and abuse.

The profound imbalance on the market has also led to a growth in inefficient allocation of limited resources for agriculture. Wares are bought not only because they are needed but also because this provides an opportunity to spend money. This leads to chaos in the management of production resources. That is why any mechanism creating economic imbalance is so dangerous to agriculture. To a large extent, this comes from the apparent struggle to control inflation (under existing structures which generate that inflation) which is actually an effort to control the rise in prices without reducing spending. That amounts to nothing more than treating symptoms without doing anything about the illness causing them. This cannot help but fail because it does not control inflation but merely changes open inflation (in prices) to hidden inflation which shows itself in forced savings and market imbalance. High spending is a fact and the rise in prices is slowed along with its associated drop in the purchasing power of money and this naturally strangles the economic process. The suppression of inflation is a phenomenon that not only creates worthless money, wastes time and makes any sort of activation senseless but also gives suppliers an advantage on the market, makes it completely possible for purchasers to evaluate the work of suppliers and makes it easier for the cost of wasteful management to be thrown over onto consumers and farmers buying consumer goods and means of production. The above mechanism has a particular effect on agriculture because arbitrary price controls above all affect the retail price of food and the purchase prices of agricultural products.

Close control of food prices has become a factor making food products relatively cheap in comparison to nonagricultural industrial products and this intensifies demand on the agricultural market. This tendency is strengthened by poor growth in the production of other consumer products and that leads to a lasting attitude that many industrial products are higher-category goods and therefore to more use of prices and a means of redistribution rather than as a means of information.

This gives preferences to old values rather than new ones and tends to reinforce the "precipitous approach" from one type of expenditure to another. This also gives preference to the food-clothing-alcohol model. That hinders luxury articles from becoming lower-category articles or these from becoming items of first need. Needs grow much faster than do the possibilities for meeting them which reduces public satisfaction. Persisting inflationary tendencies and the protection of food prices creates intensified pressure to increase prices for other products. If inflation and market balance persist, this threatens not only the continuation of excessive demand on the food market but also violent intensification of this pressure whenever there is any rise in the overall market imbalance. 1981 was a drastic example of this.

Inflation and Income in Agriculture

It is understandable that when the income of nonagricultural population groups rises due to inflation, there will be constant difficulties in bringing agricultural incomes up to a level matching raised production costs. The slow change of purchase prices after increase in prices and the incomes of nonfarmers is a reflection of how agricultural wages have dropped in relation to those in other sectors. If the drop in agricultural wages exceeds a certain level, this may lead not only to a drop in production activity but also to a drop in material investments on production. Farmers cannot be activated when production is not profitable for them because they can maintain their standard of living by reducing material and investment expenditures.

Recently, the resistance to the latest changes in retail food prices was de facto transformed into resistance to purchase price increases. This resistance means that the change in prices may be delayed and that can have very bad effects on agricultural production. The increase of public resistance to changes in purchase prices always brings the danger that the change in prices will not keep up with the demands of the economy. Inflationary growth of incomes among nonfarmers intensifies the need to change purchase prices for reasons of income (cost of living) above all. However, changes in purchase prices destabilize the system of agricultural prices and cause alarm and insecurity. Inflationary increases in the incomes of nonfarmers and strong resistance to a growth in purchase prices intensifies the danger of price actions aimed at restoring the lost equilibrium rather than at causing desired growth processes in agriculture. The bad effects that inflation has on agriculture are caused by the economy's extensive utilization of labor which in turn leads to continuing demand on the labor market.

Imbalance and lack of mechanisms demanding enough of business make it harder to streamline employment. This has many different effects on the economic situation of agriculture. The ease of finding employment that pays better than agriculture increases sensitivity to all negative incentives and intensifies the results of all types of errors made in agricultural policy. The labor market's receptivity to the female labor force and its loss to work outside of agriculture also has a very bad effect on the interest of male youth in agriculture. This is completely understandable because one cannot have a family farm without a wife.

The Wage Situation and Agriculture

The wage situation in Poland always has an enormous influence on agricultural conditions because it is what determines the policy on the balance of transactions in agricultural and food articles. The wage situation also determines whatever disproportion may exist between plant and animal production.

A serious increase in the importation of fodder is not dangerous to the economy if it occurs under the following conditions:

— first of all, if enough of the growing production of livestock is intended for export so as to compensate for the costs of additional export of grain and fodder;

— second, if the increment in livestock production is not intended for export but for domestic consumption and a rapid increase in industrial exports covers the costs of importing grain and fodder.

One of the main causes of the economic collapse in recent years was the failure to meet the conditions above.

Our industry's poor ability to compete on the world market for many years now has enhanced the importance of agriculture but has also imposed significant restrictions on its growth. At the present time, this has exerted enormous pressure to attain self-sufficiency in food. This pressure, the result of Poland's limited capacity for paying its debts, is so great that we cannot foresee any improvement within the next 15 years. In recent years, there has been more pressure to restrict our agricultural and food imports in order to maintain our industrial imports at the required level. In the next few years, industry will continue to require an enormous amount of imported materials and resources and there will be substantial pressure to limit the import of agricultural supplies and food and further improve our balance of agricultural and food products in order to gain the resources needed to import technology and prevent the decapitalization of our production property. The pressure to improve the food and agricultural balance will be greater the less progress we make in increasing the efficiency of our economy and raising our exports. Considering the limited possibilities for increasing raw material exports and the barriers that we will face to exporting our manufactured products, we should regard a greater orientation toward exporting agricultural products and food as a better long-term opportunity for the Polish economy. If such an orientation is to bring about the desired results, it cannot be limited to the occasional sale of surplus products. We must establish specializations, adapt industry to this and build up an appropriate system of marketing.

A growth in agricultural and food exports is necessary not only for some immediate improvement in our balance of payments but also to make it possible to import some agricultural materials that can then be processed and exported to help pay off our debts. This above all concerns the importation of the scarcest and most effective imports such as protein, plant protection agents and the resources necessary to making greater biological progress.

The goal of our food self-sufficiency policy is therefore not only to balance our agricultural and food transactions but also to balance them on a high level of import and export of agricultural products. Only then will we be able to count on enough imports to guarantee biological progress and a strong growth in the efficiency of livestock production which would be hard to achieve without imported protein.

It has become absolutely necessary to eliminate misunderstandings about the efficiency of agricultural exports which is largely determined by the efficiency of our imports. The world agricultural market is a surplus market in which products are cheaply bought and sold. Regardless of the relatively low selling prices, the export of many Polish agricultural products is effective if we can also cheaply purchase materials such as soybeans and other protein sources which cannot be produced inexpensively within Poland.

The Crisis and Agriculture

It is natural that whenever there are economic difficulties and many dangerous structural barriers to development, it becomes especially important to determine which areas of our economy are to be protected. These would not only be those areas that have the most importance in satisfying our basic needs and therefore ones that greatly influence the social and political situation. These protected areas are also those that can exert a stimulating and pervasive influence on the entire economy. Agriculture and the entire food industry are unquestionably one of these sensitive areas, not only because they form the basis for our nation's biological security but also because agriculture can also have an enormous and beneficial effect on balancing the market, bringing wages in line with prices and increasing exports and therefore on realizing strategically important tasks in vitalizing our economy. The food industry is a protected sphere most of all due to the enormous effects any collapse in agricultural production might have. Any drop in consumption and income produces a relative increase in the importance of food consumption just like an increase in consumption reduces its significance. Food consumption has lately been restricted with much more difficulty and resistance than any other group of goods or services. For that reason, every additional drop in food consumption is much more keenly felt and has ever-greater social and political consequences.

Under our present situation, the danger of a significant drop in agricultural production is also greater because it would occur under an unbalanced consumer market with unusually restricted possibilities for compensating the drop in agricultural production through extra imports of finished food products. If the difficult economic situation in Poland remains dangerously volatile, a sudden deterioration of agricultural production would be the spark setting off the explosion.

For that reason, the present preferences given agriculture as a protected sector should be seen not only as actions to create a coherent system of stimuli to the growth of this sector but also as a system protecting us against the effects of any eventual drop in production that may be caused by uncontrollable factors such as weather and climate.

For that reason, it is now important to create reserves for our food industry. This is above all important to prevent any negative climatic phenomena from making subjective errors in policy any worse. It is necessary to break away from our past experience of good farm results creating the prerequisite conditions for the making of bad decisions while on the other hand, agricultural difficulties have led to the revision of erroneous past decisions. Recent good results in agriculture and radical limitations to the deficit in our foreign food and agricultural trade cannot soothe fears or convince anyone that we have nothing to fear from this quarter.

We cannot forget that the results of recent years have to a considerable degree been connected with unusually good weather conditions. At no other time in our postwar history have we seen five successive years (1981-1985) of increasing grain crops. In a crisis more than at any other time, the general economic situation is reflected in the possibilities for a growth in agriculture. The chief characteristic of the present situation is enormous difficulties in moving away from investment-intensive development which cannot be continued due to the lack of growth in production resources. To move away from this traditional form of management, we must make serious changes to the structure of investments and accelerate activities aimed at achieving equilibrium and the thorough introduction of an economic mechanism which encourages a high level of efficiency. The enormous difficulties encountered in achieving these changes also threaten agriculture and the food industry.

Unless we make the changes described above, we will face the following harmful consequences in agriculture and the food industry:

- the absorption of investment resources by capital-intensive sectors at the cost of modernization will intensify competition for these investment resources and also increase the danger of a reduced amount of funding available for the food industry;

- the persistence of suppressed inflation and imbalance will intensify the erosion of material incentives for farmers;

- inflationary income increases for nonfarmers under the presently-used procedure for price-setting and growing public resistance will cause another drop in agricultural wages. We must remember that agricultural wages have already been falling for four years not only in the absolute sense but also in comparison to the wages of nonfarmers;

- a drop in wages can only lead to a reduction in current material investments or reduce the profitability of purchasing land and making other such agricultural investments;

- poor efficiency in the management of labor resources throughout our economy can intensify the demand for the agricultural labor force and therefore lead to an increase in negative selection of those remaining on the farms.

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CSO: 2600/388

AGRICULTURE

POLAND

RESEARCH PROCEEDS ON IMPORTED POULTRY FEED SUBSTITUTION

Warsaw POSTĘPY NAUK ROLNICZYCH in Polish No 5, 1984 pp 31-39

[Article by Dorota Jamroz, Wrocław Agricultural Academy: "Substituting Imported Poultry Feeds With Domestic Components in Protein Mixtures"]

[Excerpts] The intensification of poultry cultivation has produced considerable changes in feeding systems, mainly the use of full-portion or supplementary protein mixtures containing maize and soy-extract meal as their chief components. These feeds, like fish meal and some vitamin and mineral mixtures, are imported. Significant fluctuation in worldwide feed supply and prices has led to the great interest shown in domestic feeds over the last 15 years.

Due to limited feed imports and trouble paying for them, it has been recommended that poultry, especially in the private and small-farm sector, be fed more using local food sources such as green forage and root crops combined with protein concentrates (DKJ [expansion unknown] -- 37 percent of general protein and 2400 kcal of metabolic energy) or supplementary protein mixtures.

In the search for substitutes for hard-to-obtain imported feeds, domestic grains and legume seeds are being reconsidered along with one of the chief sources of domestically-produced feed protein, rape seed extract and full rape grain.

If high-energy maize is substituted by barley or wheat, the energy should be balanced by adding oil to the mixture because Polish grain contains more general protein than maize also has a lower energy value. The introduction to this mixture of a large amount of barley or oats not only increases the level of fiber but also lowers the digestibility of nutrients. High doses of barley considerably stunt the growth of young birds and reduce hen fertility. Barley grain and to a lesser degree rye and oats contain large amounts of the polysaccharides not utilized by birds, galactane and pentosane. The unavailability of these nutrients along with lactoses (such as from dried whey) is caused by the lack of betagalactosidase enzyme in the digestive tract of poultry. If birds are given any larger amounts of rye, they experience diarrhea and digestive disturbances caused by the presence in the grain of alkylresorcinol and often even *Caldosporium* toxins.

Grains carry not only energy but, because they consist of 10-12 percent and sometimes even as much as 18 percent protein, they also introduce to diet a considerable amount of nitrogen compounds, the best quality of which is supplied by the protein in oats and barley and the worst by wheat. The amino acids limiting the biological value of grain protein are methionine and lysine and also tryptofane in maize and treonine in barley. The wider use of new types of grain rich in nitrogen compounds has made it possible to reduce the amount of high-protein fodder in mixtures.

Dried materials from root crops or potato flakes can provide some energy but because of their unfavorable price ratios, they are not widely used. Potato starch is not well utilized by poultry in comparison to grain starch while starch sugar and drastically broken-down starch can replace grain starch.

More interest is being shown in a feed that has up to now been rarely used with poultry and that is dried corn husks. This feed can be efficiently produced under our own climatic conditions when not all hybrids reach full grain maturity. In feeding geese and geese laying hens, this material has successfully been used to replace about 25-30 percent of the corn grain in full-portion mixtures. The factor that limits using a higher percentage of dried corn husks in poultry feed is the high content of raw fiber which can range from 7.5 to as much as 14-19 percent in relation to how well-formed the cob is and the grain maturity.

Under our climatic and soil conditions, legume seeds might be the cheapest source of protein feed. In relation to the type of plant, the protein content can range anywhere from 22-26 percent in peas and field peas, 24-28 percent in beans [*Vicia faba*] and as much as 38-42 percent in white and yellow lupins. Legume protein is characterized by a shortage of methionine and other sulfurous amino acids. These feeds contain a considerable amount of raw fiber (as much as 14 percent) but are fairly well digested by poultry. The raw fat concentrations are even as high as 8-9 percent. Furthermore, legume seeds contain a series of harmful substances. The overall amount of tannins and mainly tannic acid and gallic acid polymers is from about 560-1400 mg/kg. The proteolytic enzyme inhibitors trypsin and chymotrysin found in seed albumin, link up with proteases in the digestive tract and this reduces proteolytic activity which enlarges the pancreas and disrupts its secretory functions. The effect of these substances varies with the age of the bird. In younger birds, the inhibitors can reduce pancreas activity while in mature birds, the pancreas can be stimulated to secrete enzymes. In legumes, the activity level of the trypsin inhibitor is about 500-1500 units while in peas it may be as high as 2700. Lupin seeds can also contain in polysaccharide fractions galactanes that are unavailable to poultry. The appearance in peas and beans of hemoagglutinins reduces protein digestibility and the hemoagglutinin is 50 percent more active in peas than in beans.

Legume seeds can form up to 20 percent of the mixture fed to chickens and laying hens with no detrimental effects on fertility. Birds can take up to 40 percent peas or lupin in their feed mixture although other authors have indicated that chicken growth is hindered at even 20 percent bean in the feed mixture while fertility is affected at 10 percent.

Yeast obtained from petroleum n-paraffin has been very controversial because of the possibility of contamination by its polycyclic hydrocarbons (such as 3.4 benzopyrene to which has been attributed 1.5-8 percent of carcinogenic effects). The allowable quantity of these substances is 0.6-8 mcg/kg. Pekilo biomass, used successfully to feed poultry, is a cheap and valuable source of feed.

A very widely debated problem is the need to use feed of animal origin such as fish meal in poultry feed. Its rich amino-acid content, abundance of lysine and sulfurous amino acids and a mineral composition very beneficial for animals (especially the micro-element content) make this a very valuable group of feeds. If fish meal is either limited or eliminated from feed mixtures, it is necessary to somehow make up for the lack of amino acids, to accurately balance the B and E vitamins in relation to the norms for Ca and P and to determine the importance of trace elements such as Se, Cr, Ni, etc. The withdrawal of animal feeds of meal made from salted fish has in recent years caused many misunderstandings about the presence of salt in mixtures exceeding even 1.5 percent. Such a high addition of salt is unjustifiable and can even have toxic effects if the birds cannot get enough water. Blood meals are the worst types of feed even if they are high in protein. Blood protein is hard to digest and one-sided in its amino-acid composition and contains much lysine but relatively little sulfurous amino acids and leucines that are such good supplements to dried food made from grasses or papilionaceous plants that are also used to produce full-portion mixtures for poultry, especially ducks and geese. Because of their ununiform chemical composition, meat and bone meal are very different from fish meal in their nutrient value but they can be used as a source of animal protein in amounts anywhere from 2-8 percent.

It must be pointed out that broiler chickens can successfully be raised without animal-origin feeds if care is taken to balance the nutrient content in their feed mixtures and synthetic amino acids are added.

Protein concentrates from alfalfa juice, clover and from potatoes and rape are along with dried whey the assortment of protein feeds that can be substituted for imported soy oil-meal.

This article is only a short review of the given problems. There is still an enormous range of problems concerning mineral ingredients and vitamins, feeding hygiene and the use of domestic feeds and food-industry by-products.

Any substitution of the excellent foods that maize and soy constitute with domestic components can somewhat lower the production results but this assortment of domestically-produced feeds can provide proper nutrition for poultry, sufficient growth in growing chickens and proper hen fertility. Using mixtures containing barley, wheat, meat and bone meal, fodder yeast and mineral or vitamin supplements can produce 8-week broilers weighing about 1.7 kg consuming 2.4-2.7 kg per kg of achieved body weight and about 210-230 eggs from laying hens.

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CSO: 2600/386

ECONOMY

BULGARIA

SHORTAGE OF EDUCATED, QUALIFIED WORKERS, SPECIALISTS DEPLORED

Sofia PROBLEMI NA TRUDA No 2, 1986 pp 14-22

[Article by Penka Ilieva, senior scientific associate and candidate of economic sciences: "Pressing problems of financial incentives to improve the education and qualifications of working people"]

[Text] Our country's entry into a qualitatively new phase of development during the 9th Five-Year Plan, and through the turn of the century, creates new demands and calls for substantial changes in the existing system of financial incentives to encourage working people to improve the level of their education and qualifications.

Acceleration of scientific, technological and social progress will be the major feature of this development, as the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution are fused with the advantages of socialism as a socioeconomic order.

The February Plenum (1985) of the BCP Central Committee laid the groundwork for the party's global strategy to bring about a modern scientific and technological revolution and developed new party viewpoints and approaches to implement scientific and technological policies as soon as this has been achieved. In the report of the introductory and concluding remarks of Comrade T. Zhivkov at the plenum, the scientific and technological revolution, as a major factor in the logical system of building mature socialism, was unveiled as a key, a super key, to our modern socioeconomic development. "Without the scientific and technological revolution," stressed T. Zhivkov, "it is not possible to build an adequate material and technological base for mature socialism, to improve the welfare of the people, or to ensure the many-faceted development of individual and highly effective self-realization." (Footnote 1) (T. Zhivkov: Some new viewpoints and approaches in the development and implementation of scientific and technological policies in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Sofia, Partizdat, 1985, p 12)

The historical role and significance of the scientific and technological revolution for the socioeconomic development of the socialist member countries of CEMA was unveiled in the complex program adopted by them for scientific and technological progress through the turn of the century. This document specifies the five basic directions that have been given priority for

development: electronics in the national economy, complex automation, accelerated development of atomic power, new materials and technologies and their production and processing, accelerated development of biotechnology. (Footnote 2) (RABOTNICHESKO DELO No. 353, 19 Dec 1985, p 4) These directions are the principles that will guide scientific and technological progress and our country, which is an inseparable component of the socialist commonwealth.

Implementation of the scientific and technological revolution is directly related to the guaranteed supply of qualified personnel, to the level of their educational and professional qualifications, to their creative urge and their ability to accomplish everything with revolutionary changes in equipment, technology, creation of new materials, etc., and with increased productivity and more efficient production. As M. Gorbachev pointed out: "The usual diligence is no longer enough ... Such qualities as competence, a flair for innovation, initiative, daring and willingness to accept responsibility are more and more growing in importance; the skill to take on tasks and bring them to completion; the ability not to lose sight of the political purpose of the job. And ... one more thing: the desire to learn how to work." (Footnote 3) ("Proceedings of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU, 23 April 1985, Moscow, Politizdat, 1985, p 20.)

Indicating that the implementation of the scientific and technological revolution depended on the quality of the work force, particularly on the level of education and qualifications of qualified personnel, given the conditions in our country, T. Zhivkov stressed "We must all understand that we cannot implement the scientific and technological revolution if we do not prepare specialists with higher qualifications, if we do not raise the level of education and qualifications of executives... Because training individuals with solid knowledge and a modern professional background, with broad ideological and political minds and creative ability is a /vital and immediate need/ of the scientific and technological revolution under socialism." (Footnote 4) (T. Zhivkov: op cit, p 23)

The demands to raise the level of education and qualifications of working people in Bulgaria are particularly significant for quite another reason -- we are lagging far behind other countries in this regard. Whereas 15 years ago we were among the leading countries in the world with respect to the number of students per 10,000 inhabitants, in 1984 we have one of the worst counts in Europe. The figures for the academic year 1983/84 show that this index in Bulgaria is 97, compared with 194 in the USSR and 117 in Czechoslovakia. The index for certain European capitalist countries in 1982 was: Sweden -- 262, Federal Republic of Germany -- 232, Belgium -- 223, France -- 212 and Denmark -- 208. (Footnote 5) ("Statistical Yearbook of the PRB, 1979, 1985; Statistical Yearbook of the Member Countries of CEMA, 1977, 1984)

The discrepancy between the needs of the economy and the availability of qualified personnel with higher education in Bulgaria will become more acute, both because of the above-mentioned short-fall and because a large contingent of specialists and managers with higher education are nearing retirement age.

As far as qualified personnel with secondary education are concerned, although the trend is more favorable, we are continuing to experience a discrepancy

between the number of these specialists available and the growing needs of the economy for more of them in order to implement the scientific and technological revolution. During the period 1972-1981, the number of workers with a general or specialized secondary education increased more than three-fold. The relative number of workers without secondary education for the same period decreased from 82.9 to 75.4 percent, i.e. by 7.5 points. (Footnote 6) (From the collection "Workers and Employees", Sofia, KESSI, 1974, pp 95-96; 1982, pp 53-57) However, the pace at which these positive changes are occurring is slow, and the quality of education is not in keeping with today's demands, especially with regard to the needs of the directions of the scientific and technological program that have been given priority -- electronics, automation and robot development, atomic power, new materials and technologies, etc. It is also significant that the number of drop-outs in secondary schools is increasing and the number of apprentices is decreasing annually, which accentuates the above-mentioned discrepancies.

Given all this, we need an all-round improvement of the methods used to determine the needs for qualified personnel, from the point of view of education, professional qualifications and age, admission criteria to secondary and higher academic institutions, the structure of the system used to improve the education and qualifications of working people, and the content of the instruction itself, taking into account both the objective needs (present and future), and the capacity of our economy and society. It is also very important to improve the working people's financial incentives to raise the level of their education and qualifications.

In this respect, motivation of the working people is influenced by a number of factors, namely: work content, the degree to which the work is of an intellectual, creative or heuristic nature; working conditions in the broadest sense -- including the extent of technical equipment, complex mechanization and automation, and in the narrowest sense -- sanitary conditions (particularly from the point of view of physical and psychological stress on the job); the prestige and perspectives of the profession and the speciality; the opportunities that the work provides for self-realization, career advancement, advancement in the social hierarchy, etc.

Although at present the principal source of income for working people is the salary, investigations show that in different social groups and categories of personnel the salary plays a varied role as an incentive for improving one's education and qualification, and the general trend is toward a relative decrease in its influence in this motivation. (Footnote 7) (For further details, see "Sociological investigation of the issues of socialist emulation, advanced experiment and technical work", conducted by a group under the leadership of L. Lichev, senior scientific associate and candidate of economic sciences, Sofia, NIIPP, G. Dimitrov, 1983). Obviously, in the future, with the expansion of the objective processes determining the changes in the valuable orientation of the working people, this trend will develop and expand.

For the time being, however, we are observing a decrease in the role of financial incentives (particularly of the salary) to encourage improvement in education and qualifications to an extent that cannot objectively be accounted

for given the present level of our socioeconomic development. The weakening of these incentives tends to increase the discrepancy between the level of education and qualifications of the working people on the one hand and the present and future needs of the scientific and technological revolution and social progress on the other. Even more acute is the problem of incentives that will create a qualified, intellectual reserve, the basis of which, in principle, is a higher educational level.

This is why the February Plenum (1985) of the BCP Central Committee agreed that the important problems of financial incentives for working people to improve the level of their education and qualification should be resolved along with the issues of guaranteeing specialists for the scientific and technological revolution. In his report to the plenum, T. Zhivkov emphasized that the system for improving the education and qualifications of those employed in production is slowly reacting to the new demands stemming from scientific and technological progress. The level of education and qualifications is not sufficiently tied to the aspirations of people to work better, or to receive higher salaries. The present, disorderly system is obsolete and there are no financial incentives for the workers to learn in on-going courses. Managers do not show enough interest in improving their education and qualifications nor in sending the workers and specialists in their production and business units for on-going training. The financial incentives for employees to acquire higher qualifications and invest in highly intellectual, creative, analytical and heuristic work are rather poor.

Accelerated scientific, technological and social progress and the scientific and technological policies of the party, established at the February Plenum, demand a radical improvement in the overall salary structure, including component elements. This is the subject of independent research.

The necessary changes in the system of financial incentives for qualified personnel to improve their education and qualifications concern above all the approach taken to resolve this problem, the principals, methods and forms of financial incentive, salary scales, and certain other issues.

First. With respect to the approach taken to resolve the problem under discussion, we should emphasize, above all, that it is not necessary to construct a special, completely independent system of financial incentives for qualified personnel to improve their education and qualifications. Financial incentives, operating as such, must be built into the overall salary structure and its components. Thus, the overall salary structure will provide an incentive to improve the level of education and qualifications and to use them in the course of work. In as much as it would be possible to talk conditionally of a relatively independent system of financial incentives to achieve higher education and qualifications, the system must be dynamic and flexible, uniform for the national economy, but at the same time distinguishing according to prevailing conditions.

Given the current conditions, implementation of such an approach, to define the level and correlations of salary, demands that the factors of education and qualifications of the work force be brought to the fore in keeping with their objectively growing significance.

Similarly, a vital aspect in resolving the problem of financial incentives for qualified personnel to improve their education and qualifications is finding the criteria in correlating these factors for setting and distinguishing salary and other factors, such as the complexity, responsibility and sanitary working conditions, work intensity, etc. In the methodological and applied plan, it is particularly important, on the one hand, to recognize the growing role and significance of the quality of the work force, its education and qualifications and, on the other hand, not to underestimate the other factors that bring an objective influence to bear, including "shortage in the work force", the influence of which will increase in the not too distant future, both on account of the irregular growth of the scientific and technological revolution in the sectors, subsectors and jobs and for demographic reasons.

Another important aspect in the approach to improving the financial incentives of working people for the improvement of their education and qualifications is the need to preserve objective ties between the factors, namely: 1) to determine and evaluate the degrees of complexity (and responsibility) of the work performed and to group them similarly to the existing objective hierarchy of these jobs; 2) on this basis to determine the objectively needed (in content and degree) education and qualifications and to construct a qualifications scale (corresponding to the scale for complexity and responsibility) of work functions; 3) to draw up a salary scale (expressed in absolute levels, indices or coefficients) which should correspond structurally to the first two scales but should also, in determining salaries, take into account the influence of a series of other factors, such as the capacity of the country, the policies of minimum and mean wages, distribution through public resources, the shortage in the work force in certain professions and specialties, etc. In connection with this, it is imperative to stress two aspects. First, that the salary scale (however it is worked out) is based objectively on the other two scales -- of complexity of the work performed and the necessary qualifications. This objective detail must not be underestimated. Second, the qualifications scale alone, however well it is constructed, is not, and cannot be, a reliable basis for the salary scale, since it cannot completely express the effect of the complexity and responsibility of the work performed.

Although there is a certain relative independence, the qualifications scale plays an objective role as the connecting link between the complexity scale of work performed -- the foundation upon which the construction is raised -- and the salary scale, which is essentially a function of the first two. Underestimation of these objectively existing cause and effect ties and dependencies leads to subjectivity and voluntarism, both in establishing the education and qualification needs of those employed and their grading according to this index, and in determining the level and correlation of salaries.

At the same time, the dynamic and irregular growth of the scientific and technological revolution demands that a distinguishing approach be applied to the construction of each of the scales, according to groups of branches and categories.

As far as uniformity is concerned, it must be achieved not least of all in one single scale for complexity, qualifications and salaries respectively, and in a common approach to their construction with common criteria and methods throughout the national economy. Otherwise, we shall not be able to overcome the present acute discrepancy between implementation of the demands for a uniform and distinguishing form of salary, which corresponds to common ownership of the means of production, and the intensifying dynamics of the factors and demands of the scientific and technological revolution.

Second. With respect to the principles of financial incentives for qualified personnel to improve their education and qualifications, two essential issues must be stressed. The first concerns overcoming the contradiction that exists in Bulgaria at present between the objective demands and the practical implementation of democratic centralism when considering financial incentives for working people to improve the level of their education and qualifications. We can no longer put off the public need for a radical improvement of centralism in such a way that the center defines only the standard demands (reference points) for education and qualifications and the most general correlations in salaries, which will be expressed in concrete form depending on the influence of corresponding factors in given situations, as the power of managers and work collectives broadens.

The second issue concerns the broader application of the principle of priorities. Obviously, together with general and on-going training, the system must provide greater incentives for the improvement of education and qualifications of those categories of working people on whom we depend most for the progress of the scientific and technological revolution and the introduction of its achievements into practice, i.e. scientists, technicians and managers. We must give preference to providing incentives for the improvement of education and qualification of those groups of working people in those developing areas of scientific and technological growth that have been given priority -- electronics, automation and telemechanics, atomic power, new materials, etc. Greater financial incentives are also necessary for managers and work collectives who take on and accomplish strenuous tasks and counter-programs for improving the education and qualifications of workers and specialists without lowering their work results.

However, the principle of setting priorities for financial incentives must be implemented, on the one hand, on the basis of already existing higher demands that are defined as the norm with respect to the necessary education and qualifications for the corresponding work to be performed. On the other hand, it must be preceded by the application of principles of selectivity, for careful selection of qualified personnel, who must have the corresponding required level of education and qualifications. In this respect, it is not expedient and there are no grounds for indiscriminate incentives for everyone engaged in the work mentioned if they do not possess the necessary qualifications. In this respect, the introduction of competitive and selective principles will be an important and positive factor. However, they must be guaranteed not only by a democratic process but also by the work ethic and political qualities of the candidates.

Third. Of particular significance with respect to the methods for providing financial incentives to working people to improve their education and qualifications are: methods to evaluate work according to complexity, responsibility and unpleasant conditions, for which the varieties of analytical method in conjunction with methods that establish the necessary resources for renewal of the work force will have a decisive advantage; methods to define the qualifications that are objectively required to perform jobs that vary according to complexity, responsibility and conditions; methods to establish the available individual qualifications of working people and their changes; methods for personal assessment, including indices not only for potential but also for qualifications achieved (this assessment is widely used in developed countries), etc.

In addition to the methods to be used for providing incentives, the use of the norm takes on even greater significance. In this respect, we unjustifiably underestimate the development of characteristics of professional and official qualifications with the aid of more progressive methods which comprise the characteristics of work functions, according to complexity and responsibility, and of the necessary education and qualifications that reflect the dynamic demands of the modern scientific and technological revolution. With the acceleration of scientific and technological progress, their role is rapidly expanding and their development on modern scientific grounds is a complicated and responsible task which demands continuous work. Our short-fall compared with the demands and practice of developed countries is also significant according to this index. The norm base of forms and systems of salary is also growing in importance, particularly in connection with the application of so-called transitional forms and systems of salary which are also generated by accelerated scientific and technological progress and provide a considerably greater incentive for improving the quality of the work force and industrial production.

Fourth. With regard to the forms of financial incentive for improving education and qualifications, the major factors for the future will be, in our opinion: a) the base salary, determined on the basis of the above-mentioned factors and the level of the on-going demonstration of qualifications in the course of work; b) the salary (bonus) for meeting work objectives, by which both available individual qualifications and the extent to which they are used in the course of work must be taken into account.

It is imperative that we overcome the considerable contradictions in that respect in the collective forms of organization and the collective forms of the payment of labor. Obviously, with the complex mechanization and automation of production, the collective forms of organization of labor and the periodical forms and systems of salary will be expanded, and that requires not only that the mechanism of assessment of individual contribution in the workplace be improved, but also that the effect of the differences in education and qualifications be reflected. Otherwise, the level of education and qualifications of those employed will be held back, resulting in an unfavorable influence on the attitude of those growing up toward the improvement of education and qualifications and toward their behavior, which in the final analysis will obstruct scientific, technological and social progress in Bulgaria, both now and in the future.

We must use incentives (bonuses) considerably more intensively, not only for on-going demonstrations but also for single demonstrations of very high levels of qualifications during the growth of scientific and technological progress and the application of its achievements. The irregularity and dynamism of the growth of scientific and technological progress will create the opportunities and the need for such single or repeated but highly effective demonstrations, which in turn demand that the management of the work collectives have available the necessary resources for respectively greater incentives.

There is an acute need for the development of distinguishing degrees for improved qualifications of qualified personnel according to appropriate (and similar) professions and specialties, which would replace the existing and obsolete tariff and pay-roll system and ensure opportunities for improving qualifications throughout a person's working life, with corresponding distinctions, in both demands and salary. That brings clarity and perspective and has a spiritual and material effect on the working people to improve their education and qualification.

For both skilled workers and specialists, these grades must more fully reflect the necessary education and qualifications resulting from the integration and typification of technologies, needs for a broad professional training and the learning of two or more professions or specialties with correspondingly higher salaries.

Consequently, the modern qualifications scale must, on the one hand, be based on its base scale for classification of jobs according to complexity and, on the other hand, create opportunities for employee advancement in education and qualifications, which would be accompanied by a suitable financial incentive.

There are also grounds for a broader application of different types of encouragement under the form of payments for on-going demonstrations of high qualifications in the course of work. These have long been practised in the USSR and are tending to expand. The form of payment allows flexibility and dynamics in their use, in both time and measure

Fifth. With respect to the salary scales, it is imperative to overcome the existing wage-levelling which kills incentives for improving education and qualifications of the working people. Above all, we have in mind a narrow range of the basic tariff network (1:1.56), which is the smallest for all periods since the tariff system was introduced in Bulgaria (1951-53), and compared with all member countries of CEMA. We also have in mind the insufficient distinction between the basic pay-roll salaries for elementary, secondary and higher education, which provides a disincentive to young employees to improve their education. In this respect, the consequences of fixed identical upper limits of pay-roll salaries for specialists with secondary and higher education at the level of the company are particularly negative. In practice, they lead to a factor that until recently did not exist in Bulgaria -- underestimation of higher education as a factor in the formation of a higher quality work force, higher quality work and higher quality achievements. This has a particularly negative economic and ideological effect and in effect demobilizes those who must be in the

forefront of scientific and technological progress -- specialists with higher education, especially the young ones. Without underestimating the good work results of the capable employees with secondary education, we must overcome the existing contradiction.

Research demonstrates that it is necessary to optimize the entire basic salary system, bearing in mind the objectively growing importance of the level of education and qualifications. The role of standards (reference points) may make the difference in the dimensions of the necessary resources for renewal of the work force with a low, average and high level of qualifications respectively -- with different degrees of education, established with the methods of normative and rational budgets, taking into consideration the effect of public resources. Obviously, in determining the salary scales, it is imperative to take into consideration the effect of the entire complex of factors which form them, i.e. the dynamics. Within the limits of the possibilities of our economy, however, it is imperative that we overcome or at least contain the trend toward wage-levelling, since yet another considerable trend is appearing -- the growth of the relative share of earnings from the private sector and other sources and the reduction in the share of salaries in the income of the population, which kills the incentive to work in the public sector and increase its productivity.

The economic approach to training employees and their effective use may and must be an important factor in using financial incentives for working people to improve their education and qualifications. Social organizations must take an interest in planning and must use their own resources to train their employees and organize on-going training courses. It follows that modern normative power and responsibility be established for the organizations and the working people themselves.

There are also grounds for reflecting on this fact: the system for classification of socialist organizations strives to recognize the complexity and value of the basic production resources and their use, but the necessary attention has not been paid to the quality of the employees in the work force, also the degree of their education and qualifications, and the efforts to improve the activity according to these very important indices for the development of social production and of the nation as a whole.

Implementation of the scientific and technological policies of the party, established at the February Plenum (1985) of the BCP Central Committee imposes the resolution of these and a series of other issues concerning financial incentives for working people to improve the level of their education and qualifications as one of the most important links in guaranteeing qualified personnel for the modern scientific and technological revolution and fusing its achievements and growth with the advantages of socialism to build a mature socialist society in our country.

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CSO:2200/94

ECONOMY

BULGARIA

TRADE RELATIONS WITH BELGIUM EXPANDING

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 14 Mar 86 p 2

[Article by Kostadin Batkov, OTECHESTVEN FRONT correspondent in Brussels: "A partner in great demand on the international market-- From exporting dogwood cudgels to exchanging industrial technology-- Bulgarian-Belgian economic dialogue"]

[Text] A large Bulgarian trade and economic delegation was in Belgium last week. Its members included senior representatives from the Ministry of Trade and leading economic organizations and companies in our country. The event might have passed unnoticed. But at the "analysis" made on the final day in the office of the new trade and economic counsellor at the embassy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in Brussels, Doncho Donchev, I heard some "stupefying things". I had the feeling that, instead of listening to a conversation of the results of the delegation's work, I was hearing a discussion of the draft thesis of the 13th congress of the BCP, in its most pressing aspect at that ... the scientific and technological revolution and the reconstruction of Bulgarian industry on a modern footing.

I shared this feeling with Ivan Gospodinov, a director in the Ministry of Trade and leader of the delegation:

"Reconstruction is at the forefront," he said. "At the 8th session of the Bulgarian-Belgium commission that has just been concluded, we conducted negotiations on economic, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation, in accordance with the demands of party documents. A colossal amount of preliminary research was necessary to be able to do this. A glimpse into the future -- this was our aim in the dozens of meetings with our partners in the commission's plenary sessions. This new spirit is also reflected in the protocol that we signed. What is important for this session is that proposals were tabled in the protocol containing priority projects for cooperation in the coming years between Bulgarian organizations and Belgian companies, and these proposals are in the spirit of the draft thesis of the 13th congress of the BCP. During the negotiations, particular attention was given to the development of modern forms of cooperation. The two countries came to an agreement to "jump" the elementary and usual exchange of goods and move straight to industrial cooperation, including setting up joint ventures. The Belgian side expressed a definite interest in forming small and medium-

sized companies for consumer goods in our country. The renewal of the existing long-term agreement between the two countries is imminent, as is the signing of an agreement for eliminating dual taxation. Negotiations are continuing for the signing of a treaty for mutual defense and encouragement of investment.

Our meetings with businessmen and officials responsible for Belgian foreign trade, including Minister Knjops, convinced us that Belgium attributes great importance to its foreign economic relations with Bulgaria. Our Belgian counterparts believe that the existing opportunities have not been exhausted. In matters of both payment and economic relations, Bulgaria is considered to be a partner one can work with, guaranteeing stability for its companies.

During the negotiations a series of deals were prepared for the chemical industry, the food and tobacco industries (Bulgarian yogurt will soon be appearing on the Belgian market) and machine building. Particular attention was given to a deal, signed for some tens of millions of dollars, between the Bulgarian organization "Bioinvest" and the Belgian firm "Abey" for supplying Bulgaria with the equipment and technology to produce sugar syrups from corn and for industrial cooperation in this field. The Belgian side will shortly construct a colossal refrigerated warehouse in Bulgaria and an installation for the production of fruit juices and nectars. An agreement was signed for giving the Belgian side the Bulgarian technology for the extraction of zinc.

The following fact speaks for the extraordinary interest in Bulgaria in Belgian business circles: since March 18 this year, 12 times more telephone links have been put into operation between Belgium and Bulgaria. Next year, the telex links between the two countries will be doubled."

I asked Engineer Slavi Kolev, Senior Director of the Department for International Relations at the State Committee for Research and Technology, to share with me which of the topics of negotiation coincide with the draft thesis of the 13th congress of the BCP.

"All of them," he summed up in a word. "We discussed only those issues concerned with production and introduction, problems connected with new prospects and reconstruction of our economy. Our proposals to the Belgian side were in the spirit of the most contemporary demands of the economy. Our partners were even surprised at the outset of the negotiations. We left aside the traditional proposals for scientific and technological cooperation and brought in contemporary topics and joint developments in the sphere of new materials, radioelectronics, microelectronics and automation of production. Discoveries that can be put straight into practice. The Belgian side received all this with understanding and exceptional interest. Here are some of the concrete results. Belgium has accepted the invitation to participate independently at the Plovdiv technical fair and to set up their booth in the Palace of the State Committee for Research and Technology. Scientific and technological cooperation is imminent between large Belgian firms and allied companies in the Gabrovo and Veliko Turnovo okrugs in the sphere of automation, the use of robots, information, electronics and tool-making.

We also agreed to joint production between Belgian and Bulgarian companies for third markets in the sphere of automation, flexible systems of production, tool-making (in which diamonds will be used), microelectronics, etc. Agreement was reached between the State Committee for Research and Technology and the Belgian Service for Scientific Programs for joint work on about 40 topics, chiefly in metallurgy, agriculture, genetic engineering, etc.

Trade ties between Bulgaria and Belgium date from the last century when Belgian firms planned and supplied rails, cars and locomotives for the first Bulgarian railway between Varna and Ruse. At the beginning of the century, the Belgians constructed the first hydroelectric plant, "Pancharevo". The first trams in Sofia were also Belgian. Once, we sold the kingdom dogwood cudgels for hammer grips. And now? Now, the economic, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation between Belgium and Bulgaria bears the mark of the 20th century.

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CSO:2200/99

POLITICS

ALBANIA

AWP JOURNAL URGES GREATER ROLE FOR ECONOMISTS

AU101805 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 3, Mar 86 pp 18-29

[Article by Niko Gjyzari: "Economic Thinking Should Assume Its Deserved Place at Every Level of Economic Management"]

[Excerpts] The construction of socialism through our own efforts, the development of the economy at a rapid and stable pace, and its increased efficiency are a result of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the party and of the efforts of our working people.

In the present stage of economic development, when the characteristics of intensive development are becoming increasingly more marked, when the connections between economic processes have become more complex, and when the material, foreign currency, and financial assets involved in economic activity are growing increasingly, the strengthening of the role of the planning and financial organs and their cooperation with other management bodies in tackling and in resolving major problems pertaining to the efficient development of the economy and culture become more important than ever. In these conditions, it is necessary to raise the level of economic thinking at the grassroots and at the center to a higher level, so that, as Comrade Ramiz Alia stated at the Mirdite District AWP Committee plenum, it may be fully engaged in the fulfillment of plans, particularly in the field of production and in raising its efficiency.

Planning and Monitoring Plan Fulfillment--The Major Field of the Activity of Economists

The party currently demands more skilled and fruitful work on the part of economists, elevation of economic thinking to a higher degree in both the planning process and plan fulfillment. The attainment of this goal is closely linked with the improvement of the work method and style of economists; they should delve more profoundly into the problems of the organization and management of the economy with a high degree of efficiency, they should suggest important and valuable solutions and persist in following up their implementation, leading to increased production and the improvement of the country's foreign currency, material, and financial balances, thus creating a sound base for the economy's present and future development.

Practice has shown that wherever the party organs and organizations devote proper attention to economic problems, particularly in activating the economists,

economic thinking develops and progresses and efficient solutions are found with regard to the problems confronting enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, or various economic branches. Thus for example, the positive results attained by the builders of the "Enver Hoxha" Hydroelectric Power Plan at Koman are a result of good cooperation among the workers, specialists, and managers who, relying on innovative thinking, ensured the commissioning of the first two turbines ahead of schedule, thus helping to improve the country's energy balance and securing revenues from electricity exports.

The increase in the scientific and mobilizing nature of our plans from one year to the next has been one of their marked characteristics. But in some economic enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, and particular branches of the economy, some mistaken trends—manifestations of subjectivism and voluntarism—have also made their appearance. There are cases when demands are made for investments and wage funds in excess of the possibilities of our economy, at the same time that general financial revenues are being planned at a low level. In certain cases narrow departmental and local interests have raised their head, leading to the drafting of plans with considerable reserves in order to "play safe."

The tendency to plan with reserves is nurtured by the mistaken idea of protecting the good name of the enterprise, by the tendency of certain cadres to work for fame and personal glory, to fulfill the plan without too much effort. Economists and other production specialists reconcile themselves in some cases with such mistaken tendencies and practices, trying to invent and bring in so-called "scientific arguments" justifying the approved level of the plan indicators. This happens usually in places where the economists are incompetent or where their voice is not properly heard. The most important thing, however, is that "those cases of planning production, productivity, and cost reductions with reserves, as well as cases of exaggerated demands for investments, manpower, and so forth," have not been dealt with by the party organizations" as manifestations of narrow interests hindering the development of the economy and affecting the general interests of the state and society." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Eighth AWP Congress," p 126) It is therefore the permanent duty of the party organs and organizations and of their instruments, at the grass-roots and at the center, to stimulate and to guide economic thinking, to work for the improvement of the ideopolitical and technical-professional level of economists, to correctly distribute them at the various production and management levels, to activate them, to make demands on them, to listen to their ideas carefully, and to struggle against all mistaken tendencies and attitudes in the course of the planning process.

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CSO: 2100/40

POLITICS

ALBANIA

AWP JOURNAL ON FIGHT AGAINST RELIGION

AU211519 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Mar 86 pp 61-73

[Article by Hulusi Bako: "Toward the Creation of a Totally Atheist Society"]

[Excerpts] Since 6 February 1967, when Comrade Enver Hoxha made his programmatic speech, "Revolutionizing the Party and State," giving fresh impetus to the struggle of the party and the broad masses for further revolutionizing the whole life of the nation, some 19 years have passed. Various problems dealing with the intensification of the struggle on the ideological front had an important place in this speech. Meanwhile, 19 years have passed since the spring of that year when on the initiative of the masses, from below, a powerful revolutionary movement burst out throughout the country against religion and backward customs, a movement which, enacting the free will of the people, abolished places of worship and the clergy, and abolished organized religious sects and many savage customs. By this revolutionary act our society made a qualitative leap forward, the people freed themselves from a heavy material and spiritual burden, and entered upon a new stage of faster, fuller and broader emancipation.

In the bitter ideological discussion which has continued through the past 2 decades, which has radically and decisively reconsidered the "values" of the past and affirmed and consolidated new theory and practice, our people have reaped other victories in the field of further liberation from religious ideology, and in deepening their atheist, scientific, and materialist world view. However, the fact remains that today we still encounter in our lives some signs and vestiges of religious practices and prejudices, and some superstitions and backward customs connected with them. The nature and form of their incidence is now much more limited than 20-25 years ago, and they are encountered among an ever smaller number of people. But these incidences are still sufficiently considerable, damaging and dangerous to warrant the attention of the party which, together with its instruments, studies and guides social processes and phenomena on a correct scientific path. We must carry through to the end our struggle in this field, and through our concern for the harm these vestiges have caused and continue to cause, for the complete triumph of the party line, to demonstrate the vitality, strength and superiority of our materialist world view, our Marxist-Leninist ideology, and our social order.

The imperialist bourgeoisie, modern revisionists, and the Vatican, are very worried about the fate of religion in Albania. They consider the achievements

of our people in the struggle against religion, one of the greatest successes of our society, as a great loss, and a blow to their interests, positions, and claims. Alongside this, imperialist-revisionist circles and international reaction nourish the hope of a revival of religion in our country, and employ all kinds of ways and means of diversion, and ideological and cultural aggression for this purpose. Meanwhile the party and our people reject and expose the diversionary idea of reaction that, supposedly, "Atheism cannot overcome religion," or that "Religion cannot be eradicated," etc, as the reactionaries have now begun to claim in connection with the revival of religion in the Soviet Union and other countries under revisionist rule. The revival of religion in these countries is a result of the ruling powers' betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, and the return of capitalism to these countries, and the social and political conditions which give rise to and necessitate a religious ideology, and an alliance with such ideology. Meanwhile our people, who have suffered more than any other from religious ideology, and who are led by our party with Marxism-Leninism for their compass, are determined to forge ahead on new roads and unknown and untrodden paths, towards the creation of a totally atheist society.

Our society is now at the stage of active separation from vestiges of religion, and of actively embracing the atheist-scientific world view. This is a radical turning point, conscious and directed. Once and for all, decades ago, those times vanished when religion with its clergy, its places of worship, and its religious practices, was something normal, widespread and dominant, while anti-clerical and atheist opinion, although increasing, was restricted, in opposition, and harried and persecuted by the dominant superstructure of society. Today we are at the stage where the atheist-scientific world view has become natural, usual, widespread and dominant, and vestiges of religion, which exist in opposition, are becoming special and almost exceptional cases. In short, we are today in the phase of realizing a great turning point in this field, unprecedented in the centuries' long history of our people and of mankind, and when all conditions exist to aim at a totally atheist society.

Our new society has always used every means and opportunity in the struggle to attain this end. Some 15 to 20 years ago, when feelings of anti-clericalism ran high among our people, we attacked and overcame the most obvious, flagrant and tangible aspects of religion, and dealt a heavy blow to the material bases of religious ideology, and to the most flagrant and apparent backward customs; now the problems in this area have become more subtle, more scientific, and on a deeper social and intellectual level. Whereas before, when on the basis of the party's educational work and the convictions of the working masses, we achieved the complete destruction of clericalism and of the material base of religion, and a further exposure of the ideology of religion and of backward customs, now the creative aspect is becoming increasingly important--which is a more difficult matter. The party has drawn attention to the fact that religion and backward customs maintain their roots and still have not been eradicated conclusively. Religion used to be entwined in the events and customs and attitudes of Albanian society down the centuries and injected its poison into all the joys and sorrows of life, from birth to death, and it has left its traces in people's characters; it has implanted its practices in the lives not only of believers, but also of unbelievers, who sometimes observe religious

practices without realizing or understanding. So today we must address ourselves to the whole of society, not just to a minority of believers, demonstrating and inculcating the atheist values of the meaning and content of our new life.

It is our socialist order that offers the real conditions for liberating the working masses from the fear of insecurity, from suffering and anxiety, ensuring true happiness for them. In the development of our new life, our concrete achievements, our sincere interpersonal relations, our collective spirit of solidarity, and our socialist humanism and a healthy optimism have replaced the demagogic false promises of religion, its bogus warm-heartedness, and the anti-human hypocrisy of the clergy. Instead of illusory happiness, we are creating true happiness every day.

Meanwhile we must raise the scientific standards of work in atheist education, and make it more varied and substantial. The party has made clear to us, and practice has proved, that the struggle against religious psychology and ideology does not achieve its desired results when it is carried out in an over-general way, if we do not attack actual instances and the feelings of the actual carriers of the vestiges of this psychology and ideology.

Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us not to be content "merely with general external appearances, and with impressive panoramas of social change, especially where the internal, spiritual world of man is concerned." This maxim holds good in the treatment of problems to do with the struggle against vestiges of religious psychology and ideology. We have every opportunity now to wage this war on such a basis. We now have, not only at the center but also at the grassroots, dozens of cadres trained to fight against vestiges of religion and backward customs, and for the creation and consolidation of the materialist, atheist-scientific world view. But there has been no lack of cases where party organizations and their instruments have lapsed into complacency and been surprised to find themselves confronted with negative phenomena and activities. This is a result of considering the phenomenon merely in an empirical way, which is also a cause of sporadic spontaneity and an intermittent campaign spirit.

Different kinds of alien vestiges exist and work in our lives, connected and intertwined with each other, nourishing and encouraging each other. In particular, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, "Petit bourgeois ideology and psychology has deep roots in us, and is a kind of support both for old patriarchal, feudal and religious ideologies, and modern bourgeois-revisionist ideologies; it is a bridge joining conservatism to liberalism, fostering and encouraging both." The petit-bourgeois world view has a subjective and metaphysical character. It confines man to a micro-world with a narrow and personal point of view. These characteristics bring this world view in perfect harmony with that of religious dogma.

Petit-bourgeois ideology and psychology, by not interpreting reality and various developmental factors correctly, makes its carriers create a distorted picture of life from an idealist and metaphysical position. This picture is close to that presented by religion. "There are still today people who think metaphysically," Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized, "and believe in certain 'forces'

which they elevate to factors that have supposedly set things in motion. For them, bureaucracy, administration, egotism, ambition, the sense of private property and personal position etc. are such 'forces.' For these people the deity has been transformed and found a home in the world views and signposts in life which used to support the idealist spirit of the capitalist, mercantile, and usurious bourgeoisie." These standpoints are active in our life in various forms, and sometimes seem normal and harmless, because they hide behind a mentality which is apparently in accord with the laws and customs and even the new "patriotism" of our age.

So the party teaches us to combat constantly these remnants of bourgeois and petit-bourgeois ideology and psychology, until we have a classless society.

Some people fall into the lap of religious vestiges, superstitions, and backward customs, not only because of their relatively low level of education and culture, but also because of various character weaknesses in themselves or in other people. Religions have always thrived in the darkest recesses of human consciousness, and the weakest links of the human character. In some, these weaknesses take on the form of arrogance, a sense of superiority, conceit, or a vengeful spirit, while in others they take on the form of servility, self-abasement, a sense of inferiority and inhibition—all fertile ground for religious ideology and psychology. Religion demands and creates people of weak character. Our society will need much time and must struggle hard before these taints on the human character disappear and healthy revolutionary characters are created and consolidated. And so we must struggle against the vestiges of religious psychology and ideology, and to strengthen our materialist world view.

Of course, to increase the effectiveness of this work we must be concerned about its quality. In oral propaganda, i.e. in readings and personal talks with people, a convincing scientific, theoretical, and practical argument is most important of all. Readings or conversations with general and mainly imperative phrases such as "Everybody must realize that the struggle against vestiges of religion and backward customs cannot tolerate superficial and spasmodic efforts..." are quite useless and unconvincing. For the masses, readings are the final stages in the execution of the party's demands, and as such must confront concrete problems with convincing arguments.

The creation of authentic Albanian atheist schools is one of the most monumental achievements of the party era. Our schools work wholeheartedly for the militant atheist-scientific education of whole generations, for the purification of people's consciousness, and the immunization of our society against manifestations or revivals or vestiges of religion. This active education within and beyond school has been and remains a constant duty of the schools.

In the struggle against every tendency to underestimate this problem, it is up to our schools to be more careful and to intensify activity in this field. Life itself gives the answer to the question of whether or not we should talk to young people and children about religion, and about the incidence of remnants of religion and the harm these things do, and replies to the fears of those who think "We'll put ideas into their heads." As long as children and

young people are exposed to the manifestations of vestiges of religion, especially within and outside the family circle, there is no reason why we should not talk frankly about them. Nor should we underestimate the fact that teachers themselves need to be taught and need to deepen their scientific concepts and their correct ideological interpretation of things, for there is also no shortage of men and women teachers who continue to hold superstitions about dreams, luck, fortune-telling, etc. Convinced atheist teachers will set the tone of militant atheism in a school.

It is also worth stressing that this education is the duty not simply of a few leading schools, who 19 years ago unfurled the flag of open war against religion, clericalism, and related backward customs--such schools as the "Naim Frasheri" secondary school at Durres and others, who keep alive the militant spirit of this struggle, systematically bringing up to date new contingents of school children, and regularly running scientific symposia. This education is the duty of every school, without exception. We are aware that the family will remain the last citadel of some traces of religion, which must be overcome. But schools are in the best position to overcome these vestiges with the help of the school children themselves, who indeed do obey their parents, although here their teachers' lessons and example carry more weight. The meanings of harm caused by certain rites, dogmas, and religious practices, superstitions, and backward customs must be explained to children and young people of elementary and secondary schools whenever the opportunity arises. We must always attest to and stress the value of a militant atheist education. Otherwise our young people will not be able to contradict the vestiges of religion they encounter in life with scientific knowledge obtained from school.

Deepening the struggle against vestiges of religion, apart from general activity for the atheist education of the working masses, has required and today still requires different kinds of work in different areas and with different kinds and categories of people.

Among these different kinds we have distinguished and continue to distinguish a particular group of people who, although few in number, are active carriers of religious and idealist world views and backward customs, such as former clergy, declassed elements dissatisfied with the people's government, and also some who have degenerated recently. On the basis of their former class positions and their calculations on a return of their "lost paradise," all these people quite consciously oppose the line of the party and our new road. For these people the exercise of religious practices is not only a form of nostalgia for their once-ruling class ideology and a consolation for their vanished hopes, it is also a counterweight and reaction to our reality. These elements also encourage the exercise of religious practices among other immature people, and launch hostile slogans in defense of religion and against our atheist socialist order. They are a social base, a leading source of that active internal hostile ideological pressure which is also in tune with hostile imperialist-revisionist ideological and cultural pressure and aggression. So world reaction, considering this group as its own, has risen, and, every now and then, still rises to its defense with the slanders and accusations that people of this group are supposedly persecuted in our country for their religious convictions. Complete polarizations between old and new are inherent

in the logic and dialectic of our development, and it is also inevitable that some religious fanatics should throw themselves against our social order and in political opposition to us. Religion itself, as part of the dominating superstructure of the old order, does not separate itself and never will separate itself from the politics of the exploiting classes and different invaders. And so we are still in an antagonistic conflict against the hostile activity of these political and ideological ruffians, cosmopolitans, divested of every shred of patriotism, who have sold themselves to foreigners and to their former agents; we are sharpening our vigilance against them and will punish them according to their degrees of guilt, through exposure by the public courts, down to and including criminal proceedings. Experience has shown that religious propaganda or religious rites practiced by these elements are simply a mask for their hostile political aims and intentions, and so it is our right to act against them as we have done, with the necessary strength and without hesitation.

All religious ideologies, in our country as everywhere else, are marked by a class character, are a thread of the anti-national and counterrevolutionary political network of those active carriers of the vestiges of the former ruling classes, former invaders and foreign patrons, and those whom they corrupted and perverted physically and spiritually. So not only their purely political activity, but also their every attempt to revitalize and reactivate vestiges of religion in our country today is in total harmony with the aims and intentions of imperialism, modern revisionism, the Vatican, and all world reaction. As in the past, so today too our national and class enemies place their hopes in the ideological and political weapon of religion, in inciting and encouraging religious feeling in a few fanatics. Internal and external enemies aim to use this weapon to corrupt our people, to weaken their will and determination to defend the victories they have won with so much effort and sacrifice, to pave the way for a return of the past, for Albania not to be socialist, for religion and the Church to rule our spirits and to assist in that degeneration they call "modernism" of "liberalism."

The Titoites have also used and continue to use religion for strongly political ends. Alongside the anti-Marxist concept of the declaration of religion "as a natural right of man," they aim to speculate on the religious feelings of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, attempting to cool their feelings towards Albania with its active atheist stance. We are right, and it is our duty, to combat and unmask this speculation, and also Titoism's great-Serbian and great-Slavic political persecution of our Albanian brothers in Kosovo, Montenegro, and Macedonia, which has been done through religion and in the name of religion to divide our Albanian brothers in Kosovo, Montenegro, and Macedonia and rob them of their national identity.

The Greek Patriarchate and Church, with constant chauvinist activity, has speculated and continues to speculate for strongly political ends. Foreign reaction is attempting to make an apple of discord of the Greek minority, who for us are like a bridge of friendship towards the Greek people, and uses the religious question for this purpose. In connection with this Comrade Enver Hoxha said, "Let us not forget that the question of religion among the minority has been connected with the Greek propaganda of the Greek 'chauvinists' and 'Northern Epirotes' and so there is a need for constant political and

ideological struggle.... When we see the question of religion mixed up with politics, then the struggle must be still more intense."

It is true that relations between our country and Greece have been improving noticeably. This is good news for us. However, we can never nourish the slightest illusion or fail to take into consideration the fact that anti-Albanian reaction there is active and strong. "The priest Sebasanios," stressed Comrade Ramiz Alia on 30 August 1985 at Kolonje, "and the Northern Epirotes and Greek chauvinists who visited the border regions near here are savage enemies of the Albanian people." Of course, attempts by Greek political chauvinists to speculate and juggle with vestiges of religion in the consciousness of some people, especially the old, and their accusations and slanders always will run up against the exemplary brotherhood that has grown up and been forged in our country between the minorities and the Albanians, and the happy and prosperous life which they have built and now enjoy in socialist Albania. Members of the minority, on the basis of sound reasoning and of experience with life and the line of the party, have unswervingly expressed their opposition both to clericalism and the fetters of religion. The significant answer given by the old lady of the minority population to the foreign journalists' question, "Where's your church and priest?" has become famous: "Neither the church nor the priest saved me from the beys and agas. When they ruled they didn't give me bread to eat or water to drink, or electricity for light, and they didn't teach my boys and girls. Only the National Liberation War gave me these good things, my Party of Labor, and so I love the party and not the priest."

The Greek minority is closely linked with the Albanian people through the struggle and labor of building a new life. And it is not the Orthodox faith which identifies and connects our minority with the Greek people, but cherished traditions and values from which whole generations and peoples have been inspired and have learnt, traditions highly esteemed by Comrade Enver Hoxha in his book "Two Friendly Peoples."

In the general struggle against religion and for the atheist-scientific education of our people, within the framework of specialized educational work, we may distinguish another group of carriers of some vestiges of religion and backward customs which is gradually shrinking. This group generally consists of some of our people of sound political stance, closely linked with the party and the people's government, but who in some acts and attitudes seem eclectic and divided. It is a question of a group which easily adopted anti-clerical attitudes, but was unable to raise itself to the level of active atheism and to understand and judge things scientifically, to free itself of every trace of belief, prejudice, and religious practice.

The party has made it clear that there must be specific educational work with these people to fight the sickness and save the patient, to struggle against the remnants of religious prejudice and backward customs, and liberate those who carry them. But there must also be specific work done with different groups of this contingent. In some people vestiges of religious prejudices and backward customs and some practices connected with them all survive through these people's low level of culture and education. In others, they survive

because of weakness of will in confronting different difficulties, such as illness or accidents. Among these there are also those who are bent on frequenting so-called "holy places," going there in search of healing, luck, or prosperity. There must be specific work with all these groups of people, down to individuals. This work can be most effective among women, because they can be shown, among other things, the cheapening, disdainful and hostile attitude of religious ideologies towards women.

Factors of great importance in the minds of many are those of death, burial, and the care of graves. We have achieved important changes and progress in this very delicate field. When a death occurs our society surrounds the family and dear ones of the deceased with particular care and powerful feelings of solidarity. The folk proverb which says, "A friend in need is a friend indeed," finds its expression at these unfortunate times, through which we all pass. The affirmation of many new, reasonable and secular customs and practices, free of religious mysticism or superstition, is now a powerful reality.

But we also know that religion has always tried to have a monopoly over death, concealing it behind a heavy curtain of mysticism, and has erected a whole system of "condolences and sympathy," fraudulent through and through, to cover these times of pain and sorrow. Similarly, the clergy have used death to threaten and frighten people. There are still people who, while not typical believers, and without believing in the dogma of "the resurrection" or an "afterlife," nevertheless do not find the strength to oppose acts of a religious character in the void created when those close to them die.

We are aware that certain problems within families, among them those dealing with death, burial and graves, are the final citadel to be captured from religious prejudices and practices. It is a matter of completely conquering this citadel, conscientiously and insistently, with tact and clear realizable goals, and affirming and consolidating new practices free from all religious influence, which have been created and are now widely used when deaths occur.

Another aspect of atheist education concerns an understanding of the importance of the use of national names for children. Of course, personal names retain the imprint of the age when they were born, and the events of the historical road of our people. Some names retain signs of former religions and superstitions, which religion invested with particular miraculous power, or preventive charm, or had some connection with "sanctity" etc.

Of course, radical material and spiritual changes in our life have left their mark on personal names. For example, in Himare, where during the 1945-50 period religious names comprised 80 percent of the total, by 1970-75 the proportion had sunk to 40 percent and in 1984 to 30 percent. But the fact that religious and foreign names continue to be used to a considerable extent must make us evaluate our work in this field with a critical eye.

Everybody chooses a name for their child as they wish, and wants it to be pretty, musical in pronunciation, etc. But when we have such attractive national names, it would not be right to use foreign names which are also an

expression of religious nostalgia, and xenomania. Personal names also express the national character of a people. Therefore, we may legitimately insist upon national names taking their rightful place, so that people's names shall remain for future generations an indicator of former religious allegiance. Registrars are furnished with lists of national names, and a "Dictionary of Personal Names" was published in 1982 with more than 3,000 national names. But there is a need for intensive educative work to convince people of the importance of the use of national names.

There is still the problem of marriages between young people of different former religions. We have considered these marriages, from an ideological and political point of view, as a challenge to religion and a further strengthening link in the moral-political and ideological unity of our people. It is well-known that our people a long time ago adopted the glittering maxim, "An Albanian's faith is Albanianism," and that this idea has passed the tests of the most decisive moments in the earlier and recent history of our people. Everywhere, when faced by a serious difficulty, our people have never raised questions of religious allegiance, but have acted as one, overcoming and denying religious divisions. But when the question of marriage arises, and when two young people of different former religions want to marry, then even today this does not happen easily. In some cases a kind of barrier is built, and the most varied "reasons" and obstacles are fabricated by parents, grandparents, and other relatives.

There is no need to exaggerate this negative phenomenon, nor must it be underestimated.

There is also a pressing need to convince people that vestiges of religion are fertile ground for the ideological and political aggression and diversionary tactics of imperialist-revisionist agents. We know that world reaction has placed great hopes in subjecting us to cultural and ideological diversion, and has used religion and the church to this end. Its aim is to exert its influence to revive vestiges of religion among our people, to use religious cults for developing a network of agents, to deceive public opinion with slanders and accusations against Albanian life, and to threaten the authority of socialist Albania among the working masses of the world. The reactionaries use the radio, television, and the press for this purpose, secretly sending religious books floating on the waters of the Ionian and Adriatic seas, down the Drin and Vjose rivers, and through "tourists" and "visitors," and building and decorating places of worship in border areas, and so forth. It is clear that we are dealing with the organized and co-ordinated activity of all the forces of world reaction.

We have given the appropriate response to these campaigns, which vary in intensity. But, as long as this imperialist-revisionist ideological aggression continues we cannot underestimate it. The teaching of our party is, as Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed, that "Behind alien vestiges, religious beliefs, backward customs, and every kind of unsocialist thinking maintained by anybody, there lurks the danger of degeneration, the reserves of the class enemy, of imperialism and revisionism."

The reality, example and road of our country have challenged not only the outmoded elements of the ages but also the outmoded elements of the present-day capitalist world, in which religion is supported and propagated, like mold in decaying substances. They are exposing the treachery of the modern revisionists, their ideological and political reconciliation with religion and with the church, with the Vatican. Therefore, the teaching of the party is that, at the present stage of development of our country, the struggle against religious ideology is closely linked with the struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

The attitude toward religion and clericalism is one of the most important and meaningful indicators which distinguishes and separates true Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class from opportunistic and revisionist parties.

In society, the old does not disappear and the new is not established automatically. It is the activity of the party and its levers, their skilled educational activity with individuals in the area of scientific-atheistic education which will result in the creation of a completely atheistic society in our country.

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POLITICS

ALBANIA

EDUCATOR CALLS FOR MORE SCIENCE TEXTBOOKS

AU071532 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by Docent Hasan Mucostepa, vice rector of the "Enver Hoxha" University of Tirana: "A Broader Concept About Contemporary Information in the Schools of Higher Education Texts"]

[Excerpts] Students have at their disposal about 1,500 textbooks and study materials for the 530 scientific disciplines taught at the university. A great number of these textbooks are original and contain a wealth of material on the present development of the relevant sciences.

However, despite the effort that has been made to reflect our party's ideological and theoretical thought, the achievements of our sciences, the exponential growth of contemporary scientific information, the urgent demands of the development of production, and the introduction of know-how and new technologies as well as possible in the textbooks, a broader conception, a higher degree of efficiency, and a more rapid processing of information is still needed. Considering the very rapid increase in information and the current state of affairs--out of the 1,500 textbooks used by the university about 800 have been published prior to 1980, and 600 of these prior to 1975--it is obvious that the problem assumes primary importance. What is necessary first of all is to accelerate the rate of preparing and rewriting new textbooks, because at the rate of 110 new textbooks that are being published annually, this task would require at least 7 years. In addition to accelerating the pace of publishing new textbooks, the various sections must always bear in mind Comrade Enver's instruction not to "prune and patch up what is new over what is outdated," that is, not to place new facts, methods, and discoveries on top of the pyramid of the old content, but to select, through precise syntheses, the knowledge that explains the largest amount of laws, phenomena, and processes. The amount of fundamental knowledge to be included in each textbook constitutes a key problem. The knowledge must be concise and must permit the achievement of greater conceptual possibilities.

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ALBANIA

POOR QUALITY CLOTHING CITED BY AWP PAPER

AU031401 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 25 Mar 86 p 2

[Article by Kristaq Laka: "Outmoded Prejudices or Outmoded Clothes?"]

[Excerpts] "Comrade Ana," someone called out in the hall to the director of the Clothing Production Enterprise [NPV] in Tirana. "You produce ready-made clothes. You often produce clothes that sit for years on end in shops and storehouses without anyone buying them. How does this happen?"

"There are various reasons, but there is also the idea that women don't want ready-made clothes. Rather than buy our products, they prefer to buy fabric lengths and have them made up by dressmakers in the service sector, or in other improper ways."

"But if you met their demands properly, both in new styles and quality of production, then there is no doubt that none of your products would remain on the shelves...."

On the basis of the discussion, more or less on these lines, at the recent meeting of the Albanian Women's Union general council plenum, we may rightly ask: Is it a question of a prejudice among our comrades against ready-made garments, or is it a question of outmoded clothes, out of style?

It seemed to us a good idea to talk to some clothing sales persons about this problem. We merely offer here our conversation with Natasha Osmani, a sales person in the clothing department of the People's Store No 1 in Tirana.

"Whenever the NPV sends us well-made clothes of good quality, the shop fills with customers. As they say, quality goods seem to beckon to you, and it is as if the whole shop were singing. We are absolutely delighted when customers say, 'Congratulations to the women who have sewn it so nicely.' But what can you do," she went on, "when they come and try on the same article four or five times, and as many times purse their lips and say, 'It's a sin that such good material has been sewn so badly.' In such cases, we who deal in such articles are also responsible."

"Goods still on their hangers represent leks," the sales person succinctly said.

In the credit department of the Tirana District State Bank, Comrade Nesime Mullaj informed us of a study carried out by her department in the storerooms of the trade organizations of the district. There are millions of leks worth of goods that never move. But let us pause to consider merely the clothes. Without entering into details, let us merely give a figure. The value of two items with slow sales totals 3 million leks, and there are dozens of these articles.

"What can we do?" asked clothing warehouseman Metin Bejzati. "These are what the NPV send us. We put them on the market, but nobody buys them because they are outmoded, and their style is not in line with present day taste. Here, for example, are 2,700 knitted cotton women's 2-piece suits produced by the Tirana NPV, at a price of 760 leks. But they don't sell and never have sold. We have 'hawked' them round the whole country in a catalog, but nobody at all wants them."

Who produces these outmoded garments that cost the state millions of leks? Various paths lead to the culprits. One leads to the textile combines in Tirana and Berat, which often produce goods of poor quality and poor taste. Another path leads to the trade organization which makes frequent orders at the wrong time of year. We might call these orders out of step with the taste of the time. The final path leads to the NPV. In fact, the three together are involved in a game of pass-the-parcel. The combines say that these are the colors they have. The NPV says that this is the material sent by the combines, and the trade sector says that these are the goods sent by the NPV, and what can we do? And so the blame remains like an orphan, with nobody taking responsibility for it. But what must be done? Each of these sectors has much to do. All the women comrades who work in these places and who make up the vast majority of the work force must work with more imagination, with attention to quality, and with creativity, to produce good, beautiful articles for the people. If a working woman were to think of herself as a consumer as well as a producer, then her handiwork would never gather dust in shop windows and storerooms.

But when people work irresponsibly—"Well, folks, just to fulfill and exceed the norm," without considering whether the goods they produce will satisfy customers' needs, tastes and demands, then they inevitably create piles of slow-selling goods which hinder the supplying of the people, and as a result damage the economy.

If you work well at your enterprise, then your comrades will not go and have skirts and dresses made in improper ways. To attain this as fast as possible demands concern, professionalism, expertise and responsibility from comrades themselves. They must ask themselves of every item produced, "I wonder if it will please the customer?"

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POLITICS

ALBANIA

LEADERS ATTEND AWP DISTRICT COMMITTEE PLENUMS

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[Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT on 8, 9 and 10 April 1986 carries reports on recently held AWP District Committee plenums and the leaders attending the events. The issue of 8 April carries on page 2 a 1,700-word report by Astrit Muri on the Tirana District AWP Committee plenum held "recently." A report on the implementation of the tasks set out by the 13th AWP Central Committee plenum was delivered by Llabi Gegprifti, chairman of the Tirana District People's Council Executive Committee. The plenum was also attended by Hekuran Isai, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, as delegate of the AWP Central Committee.

In his report, which dealt mainly with the economic performance of Tirana District during the first quarter of 1986, Llabi Gegprifti is cited as stating, among other things, "The industrial production was fulfilled 102.8 percent and the volume of construction was fulfilled 100.3 percent." He also attributed the district's generally positive achievements during the first quarter to "the further strengthening of control at all levels."

The plenum was also addressed by Hekuran Isai, who "appreciated the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, and the high level of the plenum," as well as Tirana District's good economic performance during the first quarter of the current year. "This positive experience," he is reported as saying, "must be better encouraged through various forms of moral incentives, and this must be done not only with regard to workers and cooperativists, but also with regard to cadres."

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT of 9 April 1986 carries, also on page 2, a 1,500-word report on the "recent" meeting of the Elbasan District AWP Committee plenum, "which discussed problems pertaining to the further tightening of discipline and control to ensure the overall fulfillment of tasks." The main report concerning the implementation of the instructions of the 13th AWP Central Committee plenum was delivered by Xhemal Dymylja, Elbasan District AWP Committee first secretary. Among other things, he is reported as saying that "the overall industrial production plan was fulfilled 104.6 percent, the construction-installation plan was fulfilled approximately 100 percent, the transportation volume 111.7 percent, the communal services plan was fulfilled 101.5 percent, retail trade 100 percent, the export plan was fulfilled 117 percent, and so forth."

According to the report, the meeting was also attended by Nexhmije Hoxha, delegate of the AWP Central Committee, who congratulated the district for being among the best in the republic with regard to the fulfillment of the tasks set out by the AWP Central Committee in the political, ideological, and social fields, as well as in the fulfillment of economic tasks.

ZERI I POPULLIT of 10 April carries, also on page 2, a 1,500-word report on the "recent" plenum of the Tropoje District AWP Committee, which also examined its quarterly economic performance and set out the tasks arising from the decisions of the 14th AWP Central Committee plenum. The main report was delivered by Mira Marku, secretary of the District AWP Committee. The meeting was reportedly also attended by Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee secretary.

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POLITICS

ALBANIA

CADRES VOLUNTEER FOR WORK IN NORTHERN DISTRICTS

AM191727

[Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian of 15 April 1986 publishes on page 1 a 500-word letter addressed to Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, by 141 cadres and specialists from Tirana central institutions. The letter begins: "We, the undersigned, are 141 cadres and specialists from central departments and institutions, who respond readily, willingly, and with full conviction, to the call that you, dear Comrade Ramiz, made at the 14th AWP Central Committee plenum, to work for a period of 2-3 years in the northeastern districts of the country." The signatories of the letter pledge that they will work together with the people of the area to implement the party's and Enver Hoxha's instructions.

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT 16 April 1986 carries, also on page 1, a 200-word letter addressed to Ramiz Alia by 72 volunteers and candidate members of the AWP in Durres District, who have gone to the Spac mining area in Mirdite District, pledging to work with "proletarian discipline."

Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 17 April 1986 carried a 3-minute report on the decision of an unspecified number of Ministry of Health staff and medical staff from various Tirana medical institutions, who have also volunteered for work in the northern districts of Albania.

Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 16 April 1986 broadcast a report of a meeting held at the club of the Union of Writers and Artists in Tirana, at which a number of writers and artists have also volunteered to move to the northern districts, in answer to the party's call.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON 17TH CPCZ CONGRESS

Addresses by Western Communists

AU290945 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 26 March and on 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 April publishes on its inside pages a total of 103 "messages of greetings" addressed to the 17th CPCZ Congress by foreign delegates who attended the event. The messages, ranging between 250 and 2,500 words, were delivered either at the 25 March session of the 17th CPCZ Congress (those of the Soviet, GDR, Polish, and Hungarian delegates) or at "rallies with the working people" that were held in various industrial enterprises and institutions throughout Czechoslovakia on 26 and 27 March. In addition to greetings by representatives of ruling communist and workers parties, which have been processed as separate items, RUDE PRAVO also publishes messages presented by representatives of non-ruling communist and workers parties, some socialist parties, and national liberation movements. Some of the statements by delegates of non-ruling communist parties contain references to controversial issues concerning developments in individual parties and countries, relations with the CPCZ, or developments within the international communist movement.

On 2 April, on page 3, RUDE PRAVO carries the 1,200-word speech by Ignacio Gallego, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain, made at a meeting with the workforce of the NNEKG steel mill in Ostrava-Kuncice on 27 March. Speaking about the need for unity of communists in Spain, Gallego says: "There can be no left-wing alternative to the social democrats without the re-establishment of a large communist party, without restoring the unity of Spanish communists on ideological foundations. The communist movement had always represented this unity--before it was abandoned and replaced by a new version of social democracy, Eurocommunism, which has had as its consequence the downfall of a party with a glorious tradition: the PCE.

"Our big task is now to renew this unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

"Without this renewal, the Spanish working people and progressive strata will hardly be able to cope with the demands of the struggle that they must wage today: the struggle for peace, the struggle to overcome the economic crisis, and also the struggle to overcome capitalism itself."

In another part of his speech, Gallego draws attention to the fact that his participation in the Czechoslovak party congress "means that Spanish communists again take part in the congress of the CPCZ." "We all stand to profit from this," he adds.

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries the 1,600-word speech by Pierre Blotin, member of the PCF Politburo, who spoke at a meeting with employees of the Skoda plant in Ostrov, West Bohemia, on 27 March. On the subject of relations between French and Czechoslovak Communist parties, Blotin says: "In the spirit of its combat traditions, our party supports solidarity with all forces that, in diverse forms, take part in the great struggle for progress, democracy, and the liberation of man. We are, of course, in favor of international solidarity with other communist parties.

"We operate under diverse conditions. The diversity of the situations is becoming ever deeper. It is therefore quite natural that some of our positions differ, that we disagree on some issues. We also expressed this in the joint statement of both our parties in June 1982, in which we simultaneously stressed the need to cooperate for the attainment of joint aims—in the struggle for peace, for disarmament and security in Europe, for democracy and socialism.

"Experience has shown that this is possible.

"Relations between our parties have developed on these foundations and on the traditions of friendship between French and Czechoslovak Communists.

"We are in favor of the development of ties and cooperation between our countries.

"There exist many realistic opportunities that can be seized for mutual benefit in keeping with the longstanding ties of friendship between France and Czechoslovakia and in the interest of peace and security."

Also on 2 April, on page 5 RUDE PRAVO carries the 600-word speech by Jose Arizala, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia, which he delivered at a meeting with employees of the Zetor plant in Brno on 27 March. The main part of his speech concerns the persecution of communists in Colombia. In this context Arizala says: "The struggle for a democratic change in Colombia is underway. The strongest guerrilla movement, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia--Popular Army (FARC-EP), concluded in 1984 armistice agreements with the government. The armistice has been observed, despite the militarists' provocations and even though other movements have again resorted to armed operations. The Communist Party has become a target of the reactionary offensive. Plan 'Condor' has been drawn up against it, which comprises assassinations and murders of leading officials and acts of terrorism against offices of the Communist Party of Colombia and the Communist youth.

"The so-called Ricardo Franco Group, which is infiltrated by many agents of military espionage, has made attempts on the lives of Comrades Hernando Hurtado, Jaime Caycedo, and Alvaro Vasquez, members of the Central Executive Committee.

"Communists Ruben Dario Castano, member of the Central Committee, Hernando Yate, Jesus Garcia, Rogelio Sanchez, and Hernando Dionisio Calderon have been assassinated. Leading officials of other democratic and left-wing movements such as the socialist Cesar Florez, Oscar Wuillan Calvo from the EPL, or Ricardo Lara Parada, chief of the Broad Front in Magdalena Medio, have also perished.

"Numerous popular fighters have disappeared, among them the prominent communists Faustino Lopez, Miguel Angel Diaz, Pablo Caicedo, and Marco Fidel Castro."

Arizala says that, in spite of this "wave of repression," the Colombian left wing scored a "great election victory" in the last parliamentary elections when the number of its members of Parliament increased from 2 to 14--5 senators and 9 deputies.

On 3 April, on page 3, RUDE PRAVO carries the 900-word speech by Arvo Kempainen, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Finland, at a meeting in the Praga plant in Kutna Hora on 26 March. Speaking about recent developments in his party, Kempainen says: "You know that we have had internal problems in the Communist Party of Finland in recent years. We have seen very well that there must be good discipline in the party on the basis of democratic centralism. If you permit the principles of the party statutes to be violated and allow the emergence of any factions in the party, which was the case in our party prior to the 20th Congress in 1984, after some time this destroys the entire party. That is why we decided to expel these constantly rebellious groups from the party. We have, of course, and will continue to have democratic debates in our party. But we no longer want to continue to engage in fruitless infighting; we want to live a normal life in our party. The Communist Party of Finland will in the future be a militant, well organized, and recognized party. We want to do away with the power of large monopolies, and intend to build a democratic coalition on a broad basis in cooperation with progressive forces, especially with the Social Democratic Party. As we know, deepening democracy is also a step toward socialism. There cannot be socialism without democracy."

In another part of his speech, Kempainen also advocates greater cooperation between communist and workers parties. He says: "Communist parties in advanced capitalist countries have held meetings and discussions in recent years but I believe that we need more of them. We know that meetings with fraternal parties are highly beneficial. We learn from experiences of colleagues and pass our experiences on to others. Bilateral and even multilateral meetings, held on an equal basis while respecting one another, can be very interesting and useful."

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries the 800-word speech of Bill Innes, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain and secretary of the party's Yorkshire Committee, delivered at a meeting in the Skida Plzen concern enterprise on 27 March. Speaking about the party's "program of a British path to socialism," Innes says: "Our goal is to help build a socialist Britain, in which there would exist pluralism of political parties and democratic movements, the right and the opportunity

to express divergent political views, the right to religious worship and to engage in cultural, artistic, and scientific activity.

"In our struggle for socialism in Britain, we will continue our long tradition of internationalism.

"Communist parties all over the world are a mighty part of the anti-imperialist struggle.

"Differing views in such a broadly based movement are inevitable.

"Differences in views do not necessarily mean disunity, provided that all communist parties respect the sovereignty and independence of every individual communist party.

"However, even under all changeable circumstances, peace, democracy, national liberation, and socialism must remain our common goals."

On 3 April, on page 4, RUDE PRAVO also carries the 2,000-word speech by George Toubi, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, made at a meeting in Senec, West Slovakia, on 27 March. One passage of his speech is devoted to the crisis within the PLO. Toubi says: "Despite the failure of the aggression in Lebanon, American imperialists with the help of Zionist ruling circles and Arab reactionaries continue their plots aimed at ignoring the right of the people of Palestine to national existence, undermining the sovereignty of independent states, and thereby preventing peace in the Middle East from materializing. The Amman agreement signed in February 1985, in accordance with Reagan's plan and the infamous Camp David Accords, are one of the most visible manifestations of these dangerous intrigues. The Amman agreement contravenes the true interests of the Palestinian people and the cause of peace. The sooner it is abrogated, the better.

"The crisis within the PLO has caused great damage, it gives pain to all friends and supporters of the Palestinian cause. The restoration of unity within the PLO is of immense importance for promoting anti-imperialist struggle, putting an end to occupation, and achieving a just solution of the Palestinian problem. Unity can be regained through struggle against imperialist intrigues and liquidationist solutions, on the basis of a fair, realistic, and just peace plan and cooperation with anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces of the world."

"Capitulationist trends" in the PLO and the agreement of Amman between King Husayn and Yasir 'Arafat are also condemned by Michel Kamel, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Egypt, and Samir Haddad, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Jordan, whose messages of greetings to the 17th CPCZ Congress are published on the same page.

On 4 April, on page 3, RUDE PRAVO publishes the 1,500-word greetings of Jack McPhillips, chairman of the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA), delivered at a meeting in the NBEKG steel mill in Ostrava-Kuncice on

27 March. In the opening part of his message, McPhillips explains the connection between the founding of his party and the history of the CPCZ: "The SPA has some special reasons to take an interest in the development of your country and party and to rejoice at it. The SPA is a relatively new party that was founded in December 1971. It was founded after some members of the Communist Party of Australia [CPA] became convinced that the leading representatives of that party had abandoned fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles and had led the CPA astray, to the right.

"Some manifestations of this deviation, which is dangerous for the workers class and also for the international movement, concerned the attitude of the CPA leadership of those days to the events in Czechoslovakia and in the CPCZ in August 1968. On that occasion, leading CPA representatives condemned the assistance given by the countries of the Warsaw Pact to Communists in Czechoslovakia against counterrevolutionary forces.

"Their criticism was directed mainly against the USSR and the CPSU. But they did not spare revolutionary forces in the CPCZ either. At that time they adopted the views of dissident and counterrevolutionary forces and were spreading these views in the workers movement in Australia.

"Those of us who came to understand their positions as proof of their deviation from Marxist-Leninist principles opposed developments within the CPA and finally arrived at the view that in order to maintain a Marxist-Leninist organization in Australia it was necessary to break away from the CPA and to set up the SPA.

"That is why my personal interests—I was among those who helped to found the SPA—and the interests of the SPA itself are connected with developments in Czechoslovakia and in the CPCZ."

On 5 April, on page 4, RUDE PRAVO carries the 750-word message of greetings from Aziz Muhammad, first secretary of the Communist Party of Iraq (date and place of its presentation are not specified). The message contains the following passage on the last, clandestine congress of the Communist Party of Iraq: "Esteemed comrades, the Fourth National Congress of our party was held in November 1985, in absolute secrecy on the territory of our homeland. The congress confirmed the clear, Leninist positions of the party. It called for an immediate end to the Iraqi-Iranian war, for further relentless defense of the basic interests and rights of the Iraqi people and the Iraqi workers class, and for further revolutionary struggle together with other patriotic and democratic forces for democracy for the people of Iraq and genuine autonomy for Kurdistan.

"Our party regards the Iraqi-Iranian war as a destructive exhaustion of human and material resources and energy that is at variance with the interests of both nations and both countries. It demands an immediate end to this war and the solution of problems by peaceful means. This will also prevent imperialists from having a dubious pretext for direct military intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of the Gulf, and to enforce their presence in the region.

"Our party resolutely condemns the latest Iranian escalation of military operations in the southern and northern parts of the homeland and demands their termination without delay. We regard this as a task of foremost importance that will permit our people to continue even more resolutely their struggle to establish a democratic regime and for the autonomy of Kurdistan. Our party appeals to all peace-loving forces of the world to intensify their efforts aimed at the termination of this war. It also appeals to them to show their solidarity with the struggle of our party, our people, and our national democratic front comprising Arabs, Kurds, and ethnic minorities, for the implementation of the just demands of the people."

On 5 April, on page 5, RUDE PRAVO carries the 700-word message of Hideo Sakamoto, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan and the party's representative in the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, delivered at a meeting with the workforce of the "Medications" national enterprise in Prague on 26 March. Sakamoto devotes his message to the activities of the Communist Party of Japan in its campaign for peace and against nuclear weapons and his speech, in contrast to the speeches of virtually all other foreign delegates, contains no words of praise for the CPCZ or Czechoslovakia's achievements. In its only reference to the CPCZ Sakamoto's message says: "Comrades, we hope that relations between the Communist Party of Japan and the CPCZ will develop correctly on the basis of strict respect for the principles of independence, equality, and noninterference in the internal affairs of the other party."

In a possible allusion to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Sakamoto also says: "Apart from averting nuclear war and liquidating nuclear arms, the Communist Party of Japan also attaches importance to the defense of the right of nations to self-determination as the chief task of international solidarity. We are unambiguously opposed to any curtailment of the nations' right to self-determination, no matter what pretext is used and from which side it comes."

The 103 messages of greetings published by RUDE PRAVO include no message from the PCI, although a PCI delegation led by Claudio Petruccioli, member of the PCI Central Committee, attended the CPCZ Congress and, according to RUDE PRAVO of 27 March, took part in a rally in the Wilhelm Pieck plant of the CKD enterprise in Prague on 26 March. There are messages from the PCE and the Communist Party of the Netherlands, which were not represented at the congress.

Palestinian Communist Greetings

AU290816 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Apr 86 p 6

["Greetings message" to the 17th CPCZ Congress conveyed by Na'im Ashhab, Central Committee Politburo member of the Palestine Communist Party, in Ostrava, date not specified: "For the Rights of the Palestinian People"]

[Text] Esteemed friends and comrades, it is a pleasure and an honor for us to meet you in your ancient as well as modern city of Ostrava—one of the largest centers of the workers class, with its glorious history of revolutionary battles. Our meeting is taking place at a time of political activity, which is now filling the life of your country on the occasion of the 17th CPCZ Congress.

After the opening of the congress we listened attentively to the CPCZ Central Committee's political report, delivered by Comrade Gustav Husak. This report evaluated the significant successes achieved since the last congress, particularly in the economy and in social policy. Bold plans for the future were laid out in it, reaching to the end of the 20th century. The successes achieved and the road marked toward a happy future convincingly reveal the merits of socialism and its humane character—compared with capitalism in which the general crisis has recently been steadily deepening, accompanied by such phenomena as mass unemployment, inflation, the deterioration of the working people's living standards, the growth of criminality, the use of drugs, and other rampant, dangerous, antisocial phenomena.

The plans set before you in the materials of the 17th Congress, which concern the acceleration of the process of socioeconomic development and the development of socialist democracy, open bold horizons for enhancing the welfare of the Czechoslovak people. Together with the plan for accelerating socioeconomic development, which was adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress, and together with similar plans formulated in other socialist countries, your plans clearly testify to the humane contents of socialism and capitalism to be played out in the field of construction and social progress for the benefit of all mankind and its contented life, and not in the sphere of destruction and war.

The idea of preserving peace stands in first place for your party's leadership, and holds its entire attention, as attested to by the course of deliberations at the 17th CPCZ Congress and by the political report submitted to the congress by the Central Committee of your party. Your beautiful country and your peace-loving people with their rich cultural heritage have known war and the suffering that war brings. You have had the First and Second World Wars. One must express appreciation for the significant active role that is being played by the CSSR, together with the other countries of the socialist community with the Soviet Union at their head, in the defense of peace. Peace initiatives were, and are, being submitted; they aim at achieving disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, and a ban on the transfer of armaments into outer space.

Comrades, permit me to use the present occasion to express to you, and through you to all friendly Czechoslovak people and to the Czechoslovak state and its Communist Party, both respect and appreciation for the principled international support and solidarity that are being granted to our Palestinian people's just fight for their justified national rights, which are internationally acknowledged—that is, the right to return to their homes, to self-determination, and to set up their independent national state under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of our people. We appreciate your stands with regard to the Arab peoples' fight against aggression and imperialist meddling, and to achieve a just peace in the Mideast area.

This support and solidarity are truly gaining special attention at the present time, when the American Zionist intrigues against our people and their rights are escalating, with the substantial assistance of Arab reaction. These intrigues have accompanied various forms of pressure, which were also helped by Arab reaction, until a split took place in the Palestinian national movement. In this one made use of the illusions, that began to be apparent in the PLO's leadership when the goals and prospects of the struggle were being formulated and the nature of American plans for settlement was being appraised. Today, after a year of attempts

to adopt a solution on the basis of the Amman agreement, signed by King Husayn and Yasir 'Arafat, the only plans Washington has for resolving the Palestinian issue are plans for its total liquidation, to benefit the Israeli occupation and of American strategic plans. In the atmosphere of problems emerging from the split in the Palestinian resistance movement and from the growing pressure of Arab regimes which agree with the American plans (this applies to the Kingdom of Jordan and to Egypt), Israel and the Zionists are making use of the existing situation. With steadily increasing impudence they are resorting to annihilation operations, and are annexing further territories inside occupied Palestinian territory, aiming to destroy resistance and the firm stand of our people who have already been fighting untiringly for more than 18 years against the occupation, regardless of the constantly escalating crimes against the population. However, you can rest assured that the comrades in the Palestine Communist Party are standing in the front ranks of this heroic and sacred battle on occupied Palestinian territory.

Permit me once again to wish your congress many successes, and also to wish success to all friendly Czechoslovak people in building their most beautiful socialist fatherland. We also greet all Czechoslovak Communists, the sons and daughters of the glorious Czechoslovak people, on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the establishment of the CPCZ, the leader and initiator of all their successes.

/9604

CSO: 2400/271

3 June 1986

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ARTICLE DETAILS PLANS FOR TV NETWORK EXPANSION

AU061325 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Apr 86 p 4

[Article by Eva Sadilkova: "Task for 52 Transmitters"]

[Text] The first television program transmissions in our republic began in 1952 from the Pertin transmitter in Prague. Gradually the possibility to view television was expanded to the entire republic. In 1975 the transmission network for the first television program was completed; it consists of 11 basic and 20 booster transmitters and of 1,010 television relay stations.

We began building the network of the second television program in 1970, with the first transmitters in Prague, Brno, Ostrava, and Bratislava. It was meant to be completed in the course of the ninth quinquennium, and to consist of 52 transmitters. During the years of the eighth quinquennium five further basic transmitters for the second program were commissioned for operation: in Trencin, in 1981; in Roznava, in 1983; in Sturovo, in 1983; in Stara Lubovna, in 1983; and in Rychnov and Kneznou, in 1984. At the same time, 141 television relay stations were set up. Thus, 41 basic and 2 booster transmitters for transmissions of the second television program were in operation in 1985, as well as 283 television relay stations. The network constructed enables good reception of the second television program for more than 70 percent of the inhabitants of our republic.

At present the relay stations are being built mostly from the means and capacities of the national committees; this enables the communications staff to concentrate increasingly on other important tasks.

Radio broadcasts received the same attention. Stereophonic broadcasts of Hvezda radio station were included in the ultra-short wave broadcasting network. The obsolete transmission technology in the medium wave band was replaced by more modern and efficient systems.

And what is the outlook for the eighth quinquennium? A further eight transmitters for the second television program are to be commissioned for operation: in Snina, Banska Stiavnica, Pacov, Zdiar and Sazavou, Svitavy, Chomutov, Votice, and Jihlava.

In 1990 the new municipal transmitter for the two television programs will also start transmitting television programs in our capital; construction has already started there. It will replace the Petrin transmitter. The new television transmitter for Prague will ensure transmission of three television and three radio programs; operation of the mobile radio-telephone network and radio relay communications; reception of satellite transmissions; and other communications services. Viewing areas and restaurants situated 97 meters high will be part of its 216-meter tower, which will become yet another dominant feature of our capital.

The transmission network of the second television program will fully exhaust the existing frequency possibilities. The dissemination of further television programs can be ensured for the future solely by new methods, namely, via direct satellite transmissions. Preparations for direct transmission of television and, gradually, also radio programs from satellites will start toward the end of the eighth quinquennium. It need not be stressed that this none-too-easy task can be ensured and copted with only through broad international cooperation with the socialist countries, and above all the Soviet Union.

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CSO: 2400/271

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

FIRST BROADCAST OF 'MELODIE'—Bratislava (CTK)—The signature tune of the new radio station, MELODIA [Melody], will be heard for the first time today, at 1655 hours [1455 GMT]. Its musical broadcasts—which have a federal character but will initially be limited to the areas of Prague, Brno, and Bratislava—will be transmitted on ultra short waves in the CCR band. The frequency for Prague and Central Bohemia will be 102.5 mhz; for Bratislava 101.8 mhz; and for Brno, temporarily, 1,485 khz on the mediumwave. As the station's name suggests, the main content of its broadcasts will be exclusively orchestral music in the interpretation of Czechoslovak and foreign soloists, groups, and orchestras. Every 30 minutes, the music will be interrupted for the time signal and every full hour the station will take over the newcast of the HVEZDA radio station. Transmission will end 7 minutes after midnight. [Text] [Prague ZEMELSKÉ NOVINY in Czech 1 May 86 p 8] /9604

CC DEPARTMENT HEAD DIES—The Central Committee of the CPCZ, the Central Committee of the National Front of the Czechoslovak SR and the Czech National Council have issued an obituary on the death of Comrade Lubomir Prochazka, head of the department of Mass Organizations and National Committees of the CPCZ Central Committee, member of the Central Committee of the National Front of the CSSR, of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association and a deputy to the Czech National Council. [Excerpt] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 28 Apr 86] /9604

TELEVISION ACCORD WITH PRC—A three-member delegation of Czechoslovak television returned yesterday from the PRC. The delegation visited the PRC at the invitation of Central Chinese Television in order to sign an agreement on mutual cooperation. The agreement, which was signed in Beijing by the directors general of both televisions, envisages a payment-free exchange of documentary and news materials; a commercial exchange of dramas and serials, musical entertainment program and other television programs. The agreement also envisages exchanges of television crews and staffs for training and study purposes and mutual participation in television festivals. [Summary] [Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 28 Apr 86] /9604

3 June 1986

APPOINTMENT OF NEW GENERALS--In Prague today, on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and our country's liberation by the Soviet Army, Colonel General Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense, announced the order of the president of the republic concerning the promotion and appointment of new generals of the Czechoslovak People's Army. The minister of national defense presented 36 people with the Order of the Red Star, awarded to them by the president of the republic. During the meeting with the generals and with those awarded, Milan Vaclavik praised their responsible work which contributes to the development of our army. He reminded that they should continue to develop their authority, their political and specialized preparedness, and their exemplary stance in work and in private life. Participating in the announcement of the president's order were Vladimir Blechta, director of a department of the CPCZ Central Committee; Colonel General Nikolay Zotov, senior representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states attached to the Ministry of National Defense; and other figures. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1330 GMT 5 May 86] /9604

CSO: 2400/271

3 June 1986

POLITICS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRC WEEKLY PROFILES EAST BERLIN MAYOR KRACK

Hamburg EKIT MAGAZIN in German 4 Apr 86 pp 10-16, 20, 56-57

[Article by Peter Sager and Frieder Blickle: "Master of the City"]

[Text] A white wedding coach draws up on Marx-Engels-Forum. The bride with a veil, the bridegroom in tails, the couple strides through the portal into Red City Hall. Is DEFA [German Film Corporation] filming a love story? No, it is Saturday morning, and people are getting married in socialist Berlin as sumptuously as they used to do in the heyday of the bourgeoisie. The Hall of Arms in City Hall, the scene of the ceremony, is fully booked until the end of the year. Only divorced persons, in line with city protocol, are denied such splendor.

Red City Hall is a household term for any Berliner. It owes its name not to a political orientation but to the color of the brick. The red brick facade shines across the square between "Alex" and the Palace of the Republic. A mighty tower crowns this monument of bourgeois self-confidence from the middle of the 19th century. A little later Prussian Berlin became the capital of the German Empire.

In this city hall the physician Rudolf Virchow as city councillor saw to the health reform of Berlin, here Paul Singer as leader of the Worker's Party fought against slum housing, land speculation, and Bismarck's Socialists law, here Karl Liebknecht as a Social Democratic deputy engaged in class struggle at the municipal level, and in 1929 Wilhelm Pieck moved into Red City Hall at the head of the KPD deputies. Twenty years later he became the first president of the GDR.

Along with Doebelin's Alexanderplatz and Hitler's Chancellery, Red City Hall came to lie in ruins. Part of the Berlin of old, it was rebuilt, but now it was not the city hall of all of Berlin any more. Could there have been a better symbol than this city hall for the part of German history which the new worker-and-peasant state claimed as its heritage? The Reichstag [German parliament], sure; but it was not to be had. And what could be had (and saved)—the baroque town castle of the Hohenzollerns—they did not want, and in 1950 its ruins were dynamited. Shortly thereafter the neighboring city hall was faithfully restored. So here resides the "lord mayor of Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic," as his official title reads.

His name? "I've no idea," says a construction worker in front of City Hall. Through Western television, East Berliners are more familiar with the West Berlin mayor than with their own.

After passing two people's policemen, one next to the concierge and the other in front of the mayor's office, I am standing before Erhard Krack. A man of medium height with a friendly and open gaze, strong hands—rather those of a work brigade worker—and the balanced voice of an experienced speaker. A party badge in his lapel and the chairman of the Council of State on the wall. But what in Honecker's name is a ship's bell doing on the lord mayor's desk?

"That was given to me by Rostock mariners because they knew that I too used to work in that field." "The Bell" by Erhard Krack [allusion to the ballad "The Bell" by Schiller]: Let us hear the ballad of the rise of the chief technologist of the Warnow shipyard to the post of lord mayor of the socialist capital.

The son of a furnace mechanic and a saleswoman, Erhard Krack was born in Danzig in 1931. He graduated from high school in Stralsund after the war and became a fitter's apprentice. At the age of 20 he joined the SED. He studied economics in Rostock, specializing in shipbuilding economics. After graduation he became chief technologist of the shipyard, party secretary, and chairman of the Bezirk Economic Council. In 1966, at age 35, he became one of the youngest ministers of the GDR: minister for District Managed Industry and Foodstuffs Industry.

In this ministry with its complicated name, in the sensitive field of GDR supply, Erhard Krack gathered his organizational experience and merits. Praising him, *NEUES DEUTSCHLAND* reported that during a visit to a fat-production plant in Erfurt the minister "gave pointers for small-scale mechanization, for instance in the collecting of the bristles, which on the pig slaughter assembly line is done by hand."

The republic not only thanked him for such action by awarding him the Fatherland Order of Merit, but in 1974 Comrade Krack became lord mayor of East Berlin. From minister to the head of a municipality: a modest promotion compared with the careers and affairs of West Berlin mayors, who became federal chancellor or federal president, figurehead, or at least the subject of a scandal. A gray mouse in Red City Hall, though? At least, Erhard Krack is ex officio a member of the GDR Council of Ministers—the only municipal head with the rank of minister.

In East Berlin too, however, just as anywhere in the Eastern bloc, the local administration is in the shadow of centralist party management. Political decisions are made at Bezirk party headquarters, not in Red City Hall, where they are only implemented. Erhard Krack is a member of the SED Central Committee, not of the Politburo. For as long as a year East Berlin easily managed without a lord mayor: in 1979 he studied at the Academy for Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow. Since that time he has been said to nurse higher ambitions.

The lord mayor of the capital is in charge of the Bakery Goods Combine, the VEB Berlin Knitware, energy supply, and part of the arts, such as the Gorki Theater, the Friedrichstadtpalast, and "Die Distel," the cabaret safety valve of the republic. City-owned enterprises manufacture such useful things as bicycle valves, heating pads, coffee machines, and plastic helmets. About 60 percent of the 360,000 East Berlin apartments belong to the city (the rest being privately owned or under cooperative administration).

As head of the Services Combine, the lord mayor is also responsible for umbrella repairs, for the city barbers, as well as for Tatra and Ikarus, the generally overcrowded streetcars and buses with their stable unitary fare of 20 pfennigs—in force since 1949. Erhard Krack has to live with the black taxis but can sport the "White Fleet," the popular excursion boats on the Havel, Spree, and the Huezgelsee.

In the management of the various departments the lord mayor is assisted by 25 municipal councilors, including only 3 women. When it comes to leading bodies, the equal rights extolled in the GDR are not valid. Comrade Krack is the supreme boss of the approximately 80,000 employees of city-owned enterprises. Together with the state-owned enterprises, they produce annually about 88 percent of the city budget (in 1986 about 7.2 billion marks).

From 15 to 30 petitions a day land on Erhard Krack's desk. "I read them all. Everyone gets an answer signed by me personally." East Berlin's lord mayor likes to present himself as a man of the people. However, I am not permitted to witness any of his many official actions, any more than his weekly audience for citizens. During the little walk around town no citizen addresses him.

With his New York counterpart, Ed Koch, the "entertainer" in public service, Erhard Krack only has the initials in common. "They keep saying, 'Krack is not at all well known.' I really am not: I have no scandals." Not even an anecdote about him makes the rounds. To make up for it, he tells me the latest "rather than" joke: "Rather backward into an Intershops than forward to the 11th party congress!"

Erhard Krack is considered a pragmatist, not an ideologue. "Sound" is a favorite word of his, and he himself makes a sound impression. Married, two children, a place of his own in Kopenick, not in the VIP ghetto of Wandlitz. He likes to tinker in his hobby basement ("I repair anything that comes my way"), would rather go and see an opera than a play ("never a premiere, that's too official; I go with my family"). He is a fan of the Vorwaerts soccer club, and because he wants to be a lord mayor for all people also a fan of the Dynamo club. He used to play European handball, as right half on the Motor Rostock team. Now he and other City Hall bigwigs work up a sweat at 6 in the morning twice a week: Exercise bike, treadmill, 300 strokes in the rowing machine, and squash. Thus, he remains fit for the curves of everyday life.

Does Erhard Krack like to attend formal occasions of the metropolis? "If I wanted to spend my evenings at diplomatic receptions, I could leave the house in January and come back again December." He likes to take advantage of his travel privilege, though.

East Berlin's lord mayor is an honorary citizen of Mexico City. There he studied the problem of "nonlevel crossings," whereas in Warsaw and Stockholm he looked into the restoration of historic districts. Erhard Krack knows his counterparts in Moscow, Rome, Athens, and Toronto. Only his closest neighbor in Schoenberg City Hall--6 kilometers away as the crow flies--Eberhard Diepgen, he does not know.

The GDR metropolis maintains partnerships with 39 capitals in East and West, including Prague, Tokyo, Paris, and Vienna. And how about a city partnership with Bonn? "Why not?" Erhard Krack replies; "after all, Bonn is the capital of the Federal Republic."

At least one letter he has written to Bonn Lord Mayor Hans Daniels--an appeal for international disarmament. "After all, we are a 'city of peace' and are adhering to our duty to do everything possible to prevent Berlin being destroyed again." The title "city of peace," awarded by the World Peace Council, Berlin shares with other symbolic cities, such as Wroclaw, Atlanta, or Managua.

Among all the events in Red City Hall, from the award of the Goethe Prize to honoring the best streetcar driver, the best kindergarten teachers, or the "master craftsmen of tomorrow," Erhard Krack attached special importance to one tradition. "Once a year, we receive all of Berlin's rubble women. There are still 137 of them. We see to it that these rubble women are always all right." City Hall given them preferential treatment by getting apartments for them or sees to their being cared for by People's Solidarity. "That is a sacred cause for us."

It is not for nothing that in front of Red City Hall there stands Fritz Cremer's bronze monument of the "rubble woman"--as a solemn symbol of reconstruction, a key figure of this city and its fate. "Berlin, an etching by Churchill based on an idea by Hitler. Berlin, the heap of ruins near Potsdam": this definition which Brecht wrote into his diary in 1948 was valid for the entire city. But in East Berlin the trauma of destruction was followed only by the laborious effort of reconstruction--not by an economic miracle--and the new trauma of division.

A Berlin population shrunk by about one-third, half of all its houses totally destroyed, and more than 70 million cubic meters of debris--that is what remained of Hitler's "world capital Germania." With the slogan "Let's go at the junk and get out of these ruins," the "national effort of reconstruction" of the GDR began. In the year in which East Berlin was founded, seven apartments a day were built; in 1985 the number was about 90 a day. The motto of the present mass initiative: "For a more beautiful capital Berlin--lend a hand!" The party's planned target, according to Honecker: "To solve the housing question as a social problem by the year 1990." By then East Berlin will need about another 100,000 new apartments. Says graduate optimist Erhard Krack, already busy with "Horizon 2050": "That job has been taken care of as far as we are concerned."

The 1.2-million metropolis is growing by about 10,000 inhabitants annually. "We are a city excelling in births." But East Berlin is also the city with the greatest number of divorces in the republic. "We are increasingly concerned about applications for apartments by divorced persons and juveniles," they say in City Hall; such applications have "increased to an extraordinary degree."

A Berlin Which Looked Impressive From Space

About 50,000 persons who are on their own are seeking an apartment in Berlin at present, plus 25,000 families. A huge satellite town has already gone up in Marzahn. Next to it, there is another giant suburban development—Hohenschönhausen, East Berlin's 10th District, with about 30,000 inhabitants so far. The average age is 22, compared with which West Berlin is a veritable old people's home.

Marzahn, a march village when Erhard Krack assumed office, now has a population of more than 160,000. A concrete plateau, triste and without any charm—WBS [residential development] 70. This "residential development" with its prefabricated parts characterizes the new socialist homeland throughout the republic. "We had misgivings ourselves that a war might break out in Marzahn," says East Berlin chief architect Roland Korn. But what with low rents, creches, schools, stores, cooperatively good transport connections, the people adjusted to the public laying batteries. In contrast with the Märkisches Viertel, West Berlin's notorious big development, I saw hardly any traces of vandalism and few graffiti in Marzahn. "We don't have any spray cans here," says Roland Korn. In the city's Golden Book, GDR astronaut Sigmund Jacoby praises "socialist Berlin, which we found so impressive from space." He had the required distance.

In light of the monotonous and anonymous high rise blocks downtown, the former Stalinallee makes a downright charming impression despite its crumbling tile facades. Now called Karl-Marx-Allee, it was long disparaged as having been built in the Moscow gingerbread style, but what a grand design that still was, with classicist decorations and a broad green boulevard—in 1952, before the start of the uniform industrial architecture in the GDR.

In the past few years there has been an increase in the renovation of old housing in East Berlin. In addition the city wants to make living in the downtown area more attractive by building small-scale new construction. The latest showpiece: Ernst-Thälmann-Park on the land of a former gas works in the middle of Prenzlauer Berg District.

What chief architect Roland Korn presents to me as exemplary renovation met with fierce protests by citizens' initiatives in the Kiez. Bared among other things, though under protection as a historic building, was an exemplary piece of 19th century industrial architecture. In its place now stands a monstrous Thälmann statue, bigger even than Lenin at the Friedrichshain and likewise the work of a Soviet sculptor. "Wasn't one of us qualified?" asks an East Berlin woman artist; "and here I thought that time was behind us."

Another says: "That is supposed to beat the Prenzelberg over the head. First the STASI [State Security Service] moves into the new apartments, and then it moves into the bars."

Prenzlauer Berg—East Berlin's Kreuzberg—is the most densely populated city district with the worst old buildings and the most vital scene. This traditional workers district is populated by artists, dropouts, and nonconformists. Prenzlauer Berg is Erhard Krack's election district. To engage in housing reform here, to bring light and air into the backyards without destroying the milieu—a hard nut for the lord mayor to crack.

In East Berlin, the biggest industrial city of the GDR, 100,000 trees are planted annually. "We must maintain 80 square meters of green per inhabitant," demands Erhard Krack. A newly established city "Environmental Inspection Bureau" is to contribute to this. As yet East Berlin's thermal power stations puff so much sulfur dioxide into the undivided sky that a smog alarm is sounded in West Berlin two or three times a year.

When Erhard Krack talks about the accomplishments of his 12 years in office, he mentions such elementary everyday things as day nurseries for everyone (35 pfennings a day), reducing the number of students per class (to an average of 21), and improving shopping and transport. The latest suggestion—to use the potholes in the streets of Berlin as flowerpots—comes from the Distel cabaret.

Visitors to Jubilee Are Welcome—and Especially Foreign Currency

One of the 450 major construction sites of his capital, the lord mayor wants to show us in person—the quarter around Saint Nicholas' Church, the historical core of the city, the cradle of Berlin. The fact that this showpiece of the pending 750-year jubilee is located in the eastern part of the city, right next to City Hall, is also something of a piece of luck from the dialectical point of view.

We pass the arcades of Marx-Engels-Forum to reach the bank of the Spree. This is where merchants founded two settlements, Coelin and Berlin, mentioned first in records of 1237. With these first separated and highly competitive sister towns, in such a twin-headed way, began "the history of the Berlin abnormality" which Heinz Ohff described so brilliantly in his latest book.

In the center of the completely bombed out quarter stands the reconstructed Saint Nicholas' Church, a jewel of the brick Gothic style. Grouped around the church are modern apartment buildings with shops and bars and buildings faithfully reconstructed in detail in their historical style, including the inn "Zum Nussbaum," where [the painter] Heinrich Zille guzzled his glass of beer, and the wonderful Rococo palace of Veitel Ephraim, the Jewish court banker (with original facade parts recently returned by West Berlin to East Berlin as part of the exchange of cultural assets). "Everything erected by youth brigades," says the lord mayor: "one stone, one mortar, one beer!"

Things which, mostly, never stood here at all are being reconstructed with a love for detail. The historical core: a historical collage, a facade also for construction aims of the past. What definitely could have been restored—an entire old town district on the Fischerinsel next door, part of medieval Coelln—was ruthlessly torn down 20 years ago and replaced by high rise buildings. That makes the reconstruction of the Saint Nicholas quarter sadly grotesque. But it also demonstrates a basic change of consciousness which is not only economically motivated. "First the new socialist capital was to overgrow the old one," says chief architect Roland Korn; "now the new is to integrate harmoniously with the old."

Of this too the Saint Nicholas quarter is an example: next to historic bourgeois buildings, historicizing new buildings; concrete facades made of standard prefabricated parts with arcades, capitals, and new gothic gables—a socialist ultramodern style. After the museum island, now the Berlin milieu island; it is the same as in the reconstruction of the latticework houses on the Frankfurt Roemerberg, the same need for the parlors of history, for an urbane prayer corner. "Soon," said Lord Mayor Krack, "it will be possible to walk from the Saint Nicholas quarter along the Spree to the Weidendammer Brücke." For him this jubilee is a historical game at home, with his own team the historical victor on its home grounds. Visitors welcome, especially foreign currency.

Now, it is not only East Berlin but all of Berlin that is reaching the age of 750. What with decades of division and centuries of common history, would it be possible in preparing for the Siamese city jubilee to make certain things easier for one another by providing information, perhaps even coordination without regard to questions of political status? An official offer to this effect by his counterpart Eberhard Diepgen has never been answered officially by Erhard Krack. "No," he says to me, "what one does over there, one does over there; we are doing our thing. I have to proceed from reality; otherwise I dislocate everything. It is bitter, but that is the way it is. Anything else is illusion. What is going to come of it? No one knows."

Berlin, "city of peace" and of the wall, capital of the German dilemma. Does Erhard Krack ever feel like the lord mayor of half a city? He says: "I do not suffer from this deficiency." So it is a deficiency after all? "As far as I am concerned, Berlin measures 403 square kilometers and has been capital of the GDR ever since 1949. That is what I am responsible for. I read about the other but am not interested in it at all. We have enough worries of our own."

The general development plan of the City of East Berlin extends to the year 2000, in certain sectors of the infrastructure to Horizon 2050." Does West Berlin play any kind of part in this? "Does not exist, does not exist as far as we are concerned," says the lord mayor, almost as convincingly as Palmstroom when [in Morgenstern's poem] he dialectically denied that his traffic accident had happened "because what is not permitted cannot be."

Two Berlin Lord Mayors Without Any Official Contact

As a "phenomenon" or "peculiar special entity" West Berlin is a blank spot on the East Berliners' city maps, a no-go area, a no-man's-land. In the Hall of Arms of Red City Hall, though, Berlin is still undivided, the colored window coats-of-arms of all 20 districts reflecting the Greater Berlin Municipality of old. During the reconstruction of City Hall, the first East Berlin lord mayor, Friedrich Ebert, son of the president of the Weimer Republic, also had the coats-of-arms of all of Berlin newly installed. That was as programmatic as the name which the SED City Council at that time gave to the Elienicker Brucke between West Berlin and Potsdam, calling it "Bridge of Unity."

Today the divided and double city stands again where it began 750 years ago, before the citizens of Coella and Berlin erected the first common city hall on the Lange Brucke across the Spree. Today there are two Berlin lord mayors without any official contact. Common communal problems are handled like foreign policy questions; sewerage proceeds at the government level. Only representatives of GDR ministries, not the city, can negotiate with the West Berlin Senat. It in turn coordinates in advance with the Federal Government and the allies, in accordance with the 4-power agreement of 1971. East Berlin's lord mayor does not participate in such talks about his city. "There is nothing peculiar about that," says Erhard Krack; "something good has come of it."

"There are massive common interests but much too few contacts," people in the West Berlin Senat comment. Of course, they say, in an emergency there also exist direct lines in addition to the talks of specialists of both sides. "In case of oil pollution we receive advance warning by telephone from the locks. West Berlin's locks are under the Reich Main Waterways Administration in East Berlin, just as the GDR runs the S-Bahn [intraurban electric railroad] for the whole of Berlin.

Despite the wall and despite the separate development of both parts for decades, historical district connections and road and track networks have not been cut off completely. "We make certain" that these "outlets" remain open, says Georg Wittwer, state secretary on the Berlin Senat for urban development and protection of the environment. "It is my impression and hope that our counterparts in East Berlin are doing exactly the same, that nothing is blocked off but points of contact are maintained."

Construction boom and random planning have destroyed old structures and fields of vision at a number of places in West Berlin. "In East Berlin developments have been less negative than here in that field," says Wittwer. The most striking development of the past few years on both sides: "Again an approach to the wall." Back to the lost center?

After the Platz der Akademie, East Berlin is now also restoring the bordering Friedrichstrasse, making it, according to Honecker, "the most attractive

shopping street of our capital." West Berlin at long last wants to tend its wasteland next to the Reichstag building, as a "central sector" and new political center. According to the senator for urban development, these are considered "not coordinated but, it is hoped, not merely accidental" corrections or former East-West shifts, "bringing the city together again to a greater extent at the most important points."

Whoever like me has grown up with Bonn and the small-German solution is not affected by any "capital" feelings in West Berlin. I do, however, still sense that East Berlin is still the historical center, and I see where the other metropolis was able to take root more consistently than Adenauer's provisional entity on the Rhine. To make an impression as half a city requires double the effort. Wherever socialist patriotism is stubbornly kept within bounds Prussian glory is enlisted to help out.

Frederick the Great has long been riding again in the Unter den Linden dead-end street. Soon Bismarck too will be standing somewhere again. The brothers Humboldt, I understand, cannot stand the Berlin air any longer, and their statues in front of the university are being replaced by copies. Soon there will be hackney coaches with [VW] Golf engines; how will the coaches be able to keep up with them, "Die Distel" wonders.

I walk across to the museum island, which will be restored in the next few years at an expense of 2.5 million marks. "The Americans will be disappointed," says a guard, "when soon they will not be able to take any pictures of ruins in Berlin any longer." Schinkel's Schauspielhaus [theater], his Friedrichswerdersche Kirche [church], Französischer Dom [French cathedral], Koutcher Dom [German cathedral]: the more Berlin's fixed stars will shine again, the duller the impression, even by a neo-German showpiece such as the Palace of the Republic, referred to as the "Central Lamp Store."

Two cities in one, a city in two worlds, Berlin, you doppelgänger on the Spree, divided, indivisible, torn apart, jaws locked in one another, drifted apart and walled in, excluded and written off, tied by love, hate, blood, tears, by glances, dreams, airlift, escape tunnel, border crossings, sunsets, tied by words and divided by words: Berlin, Pankow, capital, partial city, front city, brother-and-sister city, city of the world, dominoes city, World Youth Festival city, city of many slogans, paradoxes and embarrassments, "Berlin does you good," Berlin hurts.

I wonder what Erhard Krack is doing at this moment. Is he watching progress from Red City Hall? Is he thinking of his overthrown comrade Konni Neumann, of his own reelection in June—which is as sure as his annual family vacation on Eugen? Or is he hungry for a Grilletta, as hamburgers are called here? No, he is working on "Horizon 2050." He himself, Erhard Krack, by then will long since have looked at the potatoes from below, his daughter will be 71 years old—and Berlin? "God never abandons a good Marxist," his recently deceased

colleague in Madrid used to be fond of saying. Erhard Krack's motto:
"There is a solution for everything."

I leave the GDR capital through one of its emergency solutions, the hole
in the wall on Heinrich-Heine-Strasse. Heinrich Heine is the favorite
author of the lord mayor of East Berlin.

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POLITICS

POLAND

PZPR DRAFT PROGRAM STIMULATES DISCUSSION

Economic, Social, Political Issues Argued

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 8 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by Zbyslaw Rykowski: "Opening Address for Discussion of the Program: Rules of the Game"]

[Text] In the first discussions, the presented draft for the party program has been accused of not being a thrilling one. One can find in these accusations some longing for the atmosphere of the first years and for simple and clear slogans full of hope that our ideals will soon be fulfilled and that progress is inevitable and universal. However, it is no longer possible to write a program in this way. The program can no longer be a revolutionary document because we are no longer standing at the end of an old system and looking at the start of a new one. We can no longer change everything radically overnight. Everyone knows this well. And the basic, far-reaching socialist slogans that once called on us to fight to change our lives have now become part of our everyday equipment. These slogans do not outline the future but the standards for the present. We also cannot entice the people with a program of wild promises so it is good that we steer clear of them.

A program can and should stir the imagination, direct peoples' thoughts toward the future, shape alternative thinking and allow everyone to make their own choices and plans. The program should present the future as a game whose outcome is not at all foreseeable. The program should state how this game for the future is to be won. It should be coldly consistent and therefore bold in nature. And it must be convincing.

I am not commenting on the program because I find it uninspiring but rather because I think it is too traditional, cautious and not always internally cohesive.

In thinking of the future, one cannot continually refer to the past. Nor can the text of the program continually refer to Poland's situation in the 1930's. It is often pointed out that over the last 40 years we have made up more than half of the distance between us and the most developed nations in the world. "That's true," say young people "but in certain important areas today we still hold among European nations the very same rank we did before the war. After all, when the program speaks of the need to meet the requirements of the modern world and keep pace with changes in civilization, it also speaks not only of our age-old backwardness but of new gaps. Why have we been late for the second industrial revolution and why will we always have to fight to catch up? Will we always have to copy capitalist forms of progress (and on a lower level)? When will we finally see the results of efficient production, good work organization, well-planned land management and a better standard of living?".

The program could once again explain the sources of the present social flaws in developed capitalism and how the historical growth of both socialism and capitalism has differed. Such didactics can explain many things but not all. It is not enough to demonstrate the structural crisis of capitalism but we must also properly assess and appreciate its ability to adapt.

One can understand complaints that youth lack appreciation and pride at our achievements and criticize them unfairly. But we must also understand that youth has inherited more failures than it has finished factories and schools. Criticism of this inherited state of affairs is understandable because it is quite natural to compare one's own standard of living with that of the richest countries.

Socialism will justify the validity of its chief premises to the young generation if it meets the challenge of capitalism and successfully brings our country out of its state of backwardness and if it can be productive enough on its own to give our youth both its own original lifestyle free of any pressure to copy capitalism as well as the freedom to make their own choices. The program states the basic Polish dilemma: either we proceed as we always have and suffer low efficiency and general stagnation or struggle to attain clear growth in efficiency and progress giving us better lives.

The choice is simple. Who would ever choose stagnation? For many years now, we have untold times adjured a material- and energy-efficient economy, the manufacture of new high-quality products, better organization, less waste of work time and the end of "bureaucratic redundancy", etc. So many times the newspapers have looked for reserves, television has restored broken cooperative ties and conferences have shortened the road from idea to deed. If we have long known what to do, then why have we done so little? In case everyone has forgotten it, the moral of our economy is that human activity is first of all governed by interest and only after that by any sense of good will or responsibility. Can the program offer a real breakthrough and switch from an extensive economy to an intensive one? I think it can but I feel that it is too ambiguous, cautious and not entirely consistent.

The chief principle for the organization of society should be social fairness -- the division of wealth according to the amount and quality of work. As a program for revolution, fairness above all meant the elimination of exploitation. Socialism began with the abolition of social inequality which was in itself unfair. And later, negative fairness (that some not live at the expense of others) came to dominate positive fairness (that each have all that he deserves). This unfair equality began to inhibit growth and was the cause of general stagnation.

The program states: "We must give full social recognition and full material and moral satisfaction to those who work hard". However, the full implications of this statement do not emerge. What does it mean? It is no laughing matter but the reconstruction of society, its new stratification and new class differences. With the switch to a new form of production, social costs cannot be avoided.

The program calls for the joining of "motivational functions of distribution, strong incentives for increased labor productivity" with social security. As a general principles, this sounds good. However, what does it mean in practice? How much differentiation in earnings can we allow?

How much can we gain by fighting for something better than mediocrity and how much do we stand to lose if we remain mediocre? I am not against social security -- it is a great accomplishment but large groups of people still enjoy too little of it while others have too much. What are its limits? What is it supposed to provide and for whom?

Our practice up to now has shown us that social security will always win out over incentives and limit their influence. It therefore lowers production and increases claims. And that is how our Polish common denominator of discontent came into being. If we are to make any progress, we will see it benefit some people a great deal while others will profit little or none at all.

The program states that by the year 2000, "it will be possible to improve the public's standard of living by 50 percent per capita". Let us add it up. If every citizen were to gain equal benefit from this increase, his consumption would have to increase by 3.3 percent each year. Can the possibility for such an improvement in the standard of living be seen as a motivation? After all, we must assume that people's aspirations will not remain at the same level but that they will increase by more than three percent each year.

Therefore, we can conclude that in order to arouse the necessary public will to make the breakthrough, we must provide them with very clear and unambiguous stimuli. Some people will have to move forward to drag the others along. Some people will stand in place. Who will move forward and who will stand in place? That in itself is the most important problem in the program discussions and negotiations. It would be a simple matter if it were simply an issue of good hard-working people having better lives than do-nothings. However, not every well-done job can be rewarded in the same way. A good idea may turn out to be much more valuable than a month of routine drudgery.

If in the creation of national wealth an important contribution is supposed to be made by a "creative attitude, initiative and industry," then people that have these qualities should also have their own participation in the distribution of that wealth.

Unless enterprise is stimulated, there will be no acceleration or breakthroughs. That is not so apparent to everyone. In my own time, when I have written editorials calling for enterprise, I was opposed by the spokesmen for a more conservative state of affairs. Even now the Wroclaw weekly SPRAWY I LUDZIE began its discussion of the party program by fussing over that word as the key to fears that "with the appearance of a new word comes not only new letters but a new spirit...". Let that mean that political management cease being a type of enterprise that gives opportunities to shrewd individuals. Let it mean that enterprise be part of the price not only in Polish firms but in steel mills as well. Let that mean that state-owned enterprises (where does that word come from?) compete efficiently with basement entrepreneurs and earn billions on the sale of useful products rather than from subsidies and pay enterprising engineers and workers more with its profits and less with threats so that they will not run away to where things are better.

Creative enterprise is not only a way of increasing efficiency. It is also a means of human self-realization and earning a living from socially useful work. It is a means of transforming indifferent and apathetic people into participants. It is also a reorientation from a life style of consumption to one of production.

It is enterprise that can be the modern form of social activity.

Youth are not satisfied with the same justifications of socialism that were good enough for their elders. With the present crisis of authority, institutions and concepts, the stagnation can be broken if people are given a chance to act according to their own ideas and do something new and original.

The system should find some way of bringing together individual and group enterprise and see that everyone profit from that.

What is needed is for social order to emerge from the inevitable action of rules of play that are obvious to all and for young people to know that that if they study hard, they will receive better jobs. Employees must know that they will be evaluated according to the results of their own work and that of their place of work. Everyone must know what to count on. For certain, the rules of play should be based on secure living under socialism.

The road to such a state of clarity is not an easy one. This is above all true because we are and will be burdened by imbalances and shortages. As long as every produced item, regardless of its cost, is going to be torn from our hands, any appeals for efficiency and clear rules of play will be no more than just that. After all, we have already been shown this in our experience so far with economic reform. How are we to reconcile the needs of today with the demands of tomorrow? Is it possible to avoid radical changes? Is it not

better to renounce some things now than bear them for years? These are also problems that need to be discussed.

The consequences of the program's strategy for development will not only be social differentiation as the result of the action of social fairness. It will also be the sort of differentiation that is caused by unavoidable changes in the structure of the economy and in scientific and technical progress. We must loudly state that there will be social groups (including certain groups within the major industrial working class) that will find themselves in a worse position than others "through no fault of their own". Such a fate will meet employees of obsolete, inefficient and polluting plants and factories that do not manufacture preferred new products. Some of the worker groups that are in a privileged position today will have to lose these privileges. This will not be done with no regard for creative mental work nor without any consideration of changes in the structure of the working class. One would be right to feel that the groups that have something to lose will not do so without some resistance. It cannot be excluded that they will unconsciously hinder the changes or support conservatism. The reform policy will therefore be much harder to implement.

The program demands that the party express the interests of the working class and "oppose any attempts to weaken its class orientation or treat worker interests lightly". What is that supposed to mean in the light of the present and even more so the future differentiation of the working class? -- that this differentiation must take place so that through a new advance to modern productivity the working class will become integrated on a new and higher level. How are we to harmonize the conflicting interests of various worker groups to express present interests and not at the same time give in to the pressure of the existing state of affairs?

Policy should not only alleviate the social effects of structural changes and technical progress. It should also and perhaps above all create the conditions that make possible social mobility and the transition to more productive work from factory to factory, industry to industry and from lower qualifications to higher.

In the newly-differentiated society, importance will be gained by equal opportunities in education, acquiring new skills and participation in culture. This must be not only declared equality but also real equality. Do we have the means to bring this about? The needs are enormous and everyone of them is convincingly real.

Whether or not the structural changes succeed depends on how resistant the policy is to compromise. Will the priorities be respected if the program promises resources to almost everyone for almost everything including the "development and modernization of rural sports and recreational facilities"? One sees in this the influence of our present habits: every branch strives to "hook onto the plan". The program must free itself of these habits, gain control over spontaneous changes and establish what is really most important.

Forcing open the doors would prove that the form of government has a fundamental influence on the results of management and that bureaucratic autocracy hinders greater efficiency just as much as democracy encourages it. But what form of democracy? The experiences with plebiscite democracy are very illuminating. Setting the price of a stick of butter through a general referendum does not make a democracy but sets the government in opposition to society. The concept of social agreements recently proposed by Professor Mariusz Gulczynski differs substantially from that form of democracy. Should the program incorporate social agreements?

Social agreements acknowledge the economic, philosophical and cultural differences in our society and clearly oppose uniformity. The diversity that under an autocratic regime must be seen as a destructive force becomes an agent for progress. democracy. Conflicts of interest cannot be avoided. We must therefore rationalize them to make it possible to organize people for the common good and create clear rules of play of interests, procedures for considering them and establishing their hierarchy within the political system. That is also a means of overcoming the polarization of society and using citizens' initiatives to fill the vacuum left by the center.

The introduction of worker self-government was of signal importance and changed the significance of the role of trade unions. It seems that a further step in this direction might be the creation of conditions for increased activity by various unions. The Polish pre-war law on worker unions is an obvious anachronism. Doubts are aroused by the program's concept of unions as expressed in the following: "Respecting the self-government and every creative initiative of the union movement, the party will be working to concentrate the movement's energies on the most important problems and interests of the working people". That is just why we have a party system, PZUR and the Sejm, after all. And we have our unions to give expression to problems that are important to various public interest groups.

Under the pressure of economic problems, we are inclined to instrumentally deal with the forms and methods of government but democracy under socialism is supposed to reflect popular rule, equal rights and freedom of the individual and is therefore of ideopathic value. Therefore, when we read in the program that the growth of socialist democracy "should take place above all thanks to the broader enjoyment of existing rights and institutions and greater public activity under the present forms of popular rule", we cannot avoid wondering just why those rights and institutions go unused. Polls and observations among citizens show that only a too-small minority of citizens is ready to become involved in public affairs.

Following periods of activity, the institutions of democracy become more ceremonial and obedient to the authorities. They come to life most often when local or factory interests fall under the coercion of the central government. Barely a year had passed since the elections and the Warsaw Municipal People's Council had to make its councilors sign attendance rolls before leaving meetings to prevent them from going out before they were concluded.

We cannot blame poor preparation for government alone for these problems because it is only the actual practice of government that gives people the skills they need. The greatest enthusiasts become discouraged because of the lack up to now of any clear connection between public action and its results. This connection would be much more obvious if the guiding role of the party were made clearer than before in organs of popular representation rather than as direct influence on the government. Such an arrangement of political leadership would also make real the possibility of advancement within the government for nonpartisans.

Our political culture has a constructive conflict that gives life to institutions. professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz has stated his views on the need for a so-called constructive opposition that would not be a formalized and established rival force but a source of alternative opinion about specific decisions and issues that has the necessary prerogatives to allow it to influence the decision-making process. It seems that several previous examples of the practical realization of this concept (during the discussion of changes in the penal law and the updating of the law on higher education) have confirmed its value.

The program calls for a greater amount of democracy in electoral law. We must applaud this as an extremely important provision. However, what is really important is that we be not only able to choose between the personal characteristics of candidates with the same political views but also that the diversity of views constitutionally represented be expanded.

For what reason would the diversity of views found within the press not be expressed within institutions of popular representation? After all, our newspapers have to a great extent become a form of political parliament for us.

Socialist doctrine has placed a greater value on the individual's freedom to do things rather than freedom from things. The modern state is a complicated organism made up of completely inter-related and interacting elements. In the citizen's relationship to the state, the importance of positive freedom has not diminished any but at the same time, the importance of negative freedoms, the freedom from certain things, has grown and has above all strengthened the citizen's position in relation to the omnipotence of the state.

Freedom is a political category. The program states that as threats to the existence of the government decline: "its defensive functions based on means of class coercion will be proportionally decreased". That is good because the ideals of socialism can then show the full force of their strength when they are no longer required to use force.

Socialism demonstrates its good sense when its is able to carry out changes, control them and realize their values.

Commission Group Meets on Draft Program

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15-16 Mar 86 p 4

[Article by r: "In the Congress Commission Group: Work on a Draft for the PZPR Program"]

[Text] (Own information) On Friday, 14 March, a meeting of the Congress Commission Group was held to work on the PZPR Program. The meeting was chaired by Jozef Gayrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary.

The course of the group's work was discussed and it was established that its members will be taking part in 8 ideological and theoretical problem conferences organized by the provincial party committees. During these conferences, certain portions of the draft to the party program will be discussed. In Lodz, there will be a discussion about the working class as the leading force for socialist change, in Gdansk, the meeting will consider the goals and tasks of the nation's social and economic development, in Poznan, the development of the socialist political system will be discussed and in Warsaw, the PZPR's attitude toward the basic problems of the modern world will be considered. Similar discussions will be held in certain professional groups such as teachers, cultural figures and technical white-collar workers.

In its two plenary meetings, the group has summarized the results of party and national discussion of the draft for the PZPR Program in order to present the gathered recommendations and observations to the Central Committee and prepare a final version of the draft in time for the 10th party congress.

The opinion has been expressed that an important impulse to the next stage of discussion will be the publication soon of themes covering the most important social and economic tasks and goals for the present 5-year period.

The group acknowledged that the entire discussion of the program draft and themes concerned itself not only with the affirmation of these documents but also with making a creative contribution to them so that they will form the best basis for party activity. Satisfaction was expressed at the fact that the group is receiving from various social groups an increasing number of recommendations and ideas on the program draft.

Heated Discussion in Kalisz

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Mar 86 p 2

[Article by Zbigniew Menes: "On the Draft to the Party Program: Speaking Earnestly About Shared Issues"]

[Text] (Own information) At the PZL Transportation Equipment Factory in Kalisz, the city's largest factory, discussions about the draft of the party program are being held in 19 primary party organizations and on the forum of 6 problems groups formed on the party's initiative.

"In this way," said the first secretary of the factory PZPR committee, Jan Olaszewski, "we can more thoroughly and efficiently discuss this document and at the same time obtain the right observations, recommendations and ideas. This form of discussion has, after all, met with the approval of our workers because it is the simplest and clearest.

"Along with the discussion over the program draft, individual talks are taking place between 628 members and candidates of the factory party organization. The factory PZPR committee already has a list of recommendations and observations that the employees have made about this document.

"I am looking over these still-unfinished protocols and texts which are later to be organized and compiled".

Bronislaw Urban had some interesting ideas about the party's personnel policy. "The present system is still imperfect," he stated "because it is often the case that one member of a family is the director of a socialist enterprise while the other is the owner of a private shop. And what's more, the children are employed by control agencies. We really must eliminate such situations".

In this context, Eugeniusz Makowski put it quite simply: "I cannot afford to but I put in a lot of time at the factory so I can buy a bicycle while a private businessman can buy a car with no trouble. So who is it that runs this state?" he asked. "The working class as the guiding force in socialist construction or a small group that is getting rich at the expense of most of the rest of society?"

Despite the fact that the employees' discussion of the draft to the party program has lasted more than a month at the PZL plant, it is already quite rich in content and the themes that have been brought up reflect problems and issues that bother everyone.

In the words of Henryk Fraczak: "We work honestly and fervently and many of us have lost our health. Do we still have to work overtime to make ends meet and ruin our family life? That is not our ambition even though all of us wish to see our plant become one of the leading ones in Poland and for employment here to be a distinction".

These and other such statements attest to the great interest in the draft to the party program and the fact that everyone wants to add his own "brick" to the final version.

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CSO: 2600/364

POLITICS

POLAND

CARDINAL GLIMP'S EASTER MESSAGE BATES REGIME

AUG03:433 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECNE in Polish 28-31 Mar 86 pp 1, 2

["The Polish Primate's Message at Easter 1986—Light and Power for Moral Rebirth"]

[Excerpts] Beloved brothers and sisters, the resurrection of Jesus Christ lights us the way to the very foundation of Christian faith. "Christ has risen from the dead. Alleluiah!" This is what the faithful sing in every church on the morning of resurrection.

The church regards resurrection as the boon created by Jesus Christ, a boon that the faithful can always draw on for support. This support enables them to constantly reject a sinful way of life and to refresh themselves in the stream of grace. We can say that every case in which bad life becomes good, sinful life becomes saintly, selfish life becomes charitable, and criminal life becomes orderly is the gift of the grace of resurrection, which helps to renew human life. This boon is being bestowed not only on individuals, but also on the entire church, because the church also needs moral renewal and the recharging of the values that can be weakened by the tremors of the changing world. The history of the world also includes moral phenomena through which man's resolve to better get to know himself and to become better continues to be renewed. The Second Vatican Council was such a phenomenon.

Today we view this council from the position of the Bishops' Synod last year. We know that this synod stressed the need to renew the teachings of the council, to reject erroneous interpretations, to root out neglect, and to implement the great and difficult truths in our lives. The synod teaches that during Easter we should see the unity of the cross and resurrection. "We must reject the inclination toward adaptation to existing conditions, which is only too easy, but which leads to the laicization of the church. On the other hand, the community of the faithful must not become isolated. We must believe in the mission of the comprehensive salvation of the world."

Today when the synod continues to provide incentives for our society's moral renewal and when preparations for the Eucharistic Congress are about to begin--this congress is to help to change the moral image of our nation through consecration--we cannot help recalling the 1966 millennium celebrations of our country's Christianization.

It is true that the great and consistent efforts made at that time to improve ourselves have not made all our countrymen morally perfect. Alcoholism, divorce, abortion, loose morals, disrespect for public property, and shoddy work have continued to spread. However, no statistics are there to demonstrate how much good the church has done and how much wrongdoing it has prevented, because the church's work at moral renewal is being done in human hearts and consciences. Wrongdoing is vociferous and glaring, but doing good is silent. Yet it is part and parcel of our reality and is responsible for the fact that we behaved as we did at the moment of our most severe crises.

We should bear in mind that the church's work to morally renew man not only has not been supported by the lay quarters, but has even been undermined by them. Side by side with the demoralization coming from the West, the principles of the officially accepted ideology have asserted themselves with all acuteness. These principles have combated the catholic values of sexual ethics and of the permanence of the family and have proposed that the love for one's neighbor should be replaced with the struggle against the class enemy. The 1956 abortion law, which was publicized as keeping abreast of time and progress, has opened the way to disregarding life altogether and to a dangerous tottering of the entire medical ethics.

That is why when giving thought to the resurrection of Jesus Christ we recall those events in the life of the church in which the "light and power" for moral rebirth are visible. Among these events we must include the 30th anniversary of the Poznan violent upheaval in June 1956 followed by the October events and by the release of Cardinal Wyszynski from imprisonment. These events are now history, and we are able to and should speak of them calmly. This history provides lessons for us because it shows us the hard road to the process of purification and illustrates the moral strength that liberates us from evil. This is precisely the strength of resurrection, and it was Christ who has left this strength in the church for the benefit of the world.

I offer my heartfelt blessings to children, young people, families, the sick, the weary, the suffering, all the sisters and brothers in Christ, and the Poles living abroad.

Signed: Cardinal Jozef Glemp, the Primate of Poland.
Warsaw, Easter 1986.

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CSO: 2600/409

POLITICS

POLAND

CLAMP HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE DURING PARIS VISIT

AW181251 Warsaw **SLONOW POWSZECZNE** in Polish 15 Apr 86 pp 1, 5, 6

[Article by Jan Edzarski: "The Primate of Poland in France"]

[Text] On Monday 14 April, the fourth day of his visit to Paris, Jozef Cardinal Glomp, Primate of Poland, gave a press conference at the seat of the Episcopate of France in Paris. It was attended by numerous French correspondents, as well as foreign correspondents accredited in Paris. They were welcomed by Father Stanislaw Jes, rector of the Polish Catholic Mission in Paris, who presented the detailed program of Cardinal Glomp's visit, due to end on 21 April. Next, the Primate of Poland spoke, sincerely thanking all those who had come to the meeting.

"I believe," he said, "that this is a form of dialogue that serves to broaden one's knowledge of our complex and pluralistic society. I would like to stress the church purpose of my visit. For the Church plays an enormous role in European society, and I would like to contribute to the welfare of all of society. A very important matter is to thank all Frenchmen, all Frenchmen of Polish descent, and all Poles living in France for their kindness and very great charitable aid to Poland."

The Primate of Poland spoke about the ancient ties joining the Polish and French people. At the end of his speech, he said:

"During the 1980-1 crisis, French charities were the first to rush medical and food aid to Poland. That is why during my French visit there may be no lack of recognition for the very many dedicated groups and individuals who managed to transfer gifts from France to Poland with great commitment and not a little trouble. We will also be very eager to see French people coming to Poland, and although we cannot guarantee them comfortable conditions for tourism, the hearts of the Poles are nevertheless always open."

Next he replied to questions. Here are some of the answers transcribed by our reporter from a tape recording.

"The level of aid has fallen considerably. But it is still continuing in lower quantities, and is received with great joy. This does not mean that Poland is in extreme poverty. Meat is still rationed, but it is already possible to

buy other commodities. Nevertheless, there are many people who are very poor, especially pensioners. Up to now, gifts for Poland have been distributed by parishes to all those in need, regardless of their religion and degree of religious belief. Today there is a special need for drugs and medical equipment for hospitals. To some extent these commodities are being supplied via the international 'Caritas.' I would like to point out that Poles realize that there is considerably more suffering and poverty in other countries than in Poland. Last year we held collections inside churches for Ethiopia. This brought a very large amount of money. Our government has permitted the charity committee to send over many metric tons of sugar and flour. However, Ethiopia has declined the buckwheat.

"Four years ago we proposed the setting up of an agricultural foundation, in concordance with the German episcopate, among others. The purpose of this foundation was not to supply Poland with ready-made products to eat, but to give Poles the type of aid necessary for them to produce their own food through their own work. This program was welcomed initially and very detailed plans were worked out by specialists. These plans were based on the first three variants of the pilot plan--in other words, introductory plan--and on the universal plan, which would have involved larger funds to boost private agriculture only.... Therefore one could have foreseen that the state authorities would not take kindly to support for only one part of agriculture. The plans to help agriculture were worked out by specialists in very great detail. The government's main objections concerned small sums of money which the West was officially intending to offer as aid. For one could have had the impression that the church and agricultural foundation were only going to support some rural areas, while others would remain neglected. Of course we objected to this accusation, because we wanted to include the whole of private agriculture in the foundation, expecting that there would be increased aid for the whole of agriculture after the introduction of the pilot plan. The talks are still not finished, but right now I fail to see any clear steps which could lead to the animation of the planned foundation.

"I know that the Carmel monastery in Oswiecim [Auschwitz] already exists. But I do not know of any good reasons to object to its existence. Today I am meeting with a Jewish group who are bound to explain the issue."

When asked what he thought about yesterday's visit to a synagogue by the Holy Father, John Paul II, the Primate replied: "The Holy Father is a man of dialogue. He seeks contacts with various denominations, and in the same way seeks them with Jewish believers. That is clear."

When asked about General W. Jaruzelski's visit to Italy, Jozef Cardinal Glemp replied: "I am unable to say anything on this subject. These are matters of diplomacy between the Polish and Italian states. But if General Jaruzelski came to Italy, he would surely meet the Holy Father because the rule is for state representatives to come to the Vatican.

"Antisemitism in Poland is a myth disseminated by Poland's enemies. We must remember that 6,230,000 Poles died in the last war. Thus, the fate of the Polish people was very close to that of the Jewish people, and from this point of view one cannot antagonize both peoples.

"Liberation theology is causing a very great amount of interest in many political circles. There are, of course, various liberation theologies. But we have in mind the extreme theology that refers to Marxism. A new document recently emerged in the Holy See which discusses these matters anew. I have not yet had the time to read it, but I believe that all Catholic theology is liberation theology.

"As far as theology in Poland is concerned; it also involves liberating man from sins and misfortune and from an evil way of life. It cannot be compared with the extreme theology that is supplied in central America. There, are enormous differences in wealth, and these form a basis for revolutionary theological attitudes. Because there are no great owners and no rich people in Poland, everyone is reduced to a certain average standard, therefore there is no reason for theology based on social attitudes.

"As far as the prospects for a visit to Poland by the Holy Father next year are concerned, I believe that the visit itself is not being questioned. The Holy Father will be able to come to Poland. As far as the details are concerned, talks will be necessary between the episcopate and the government and between the government and the Apostolic See. The Holy Father's proposed visit to Poland is meant to coincide with the Eucharistic Congress, which is a purely religious-pastoral event. We are paying a lot of attention to the preparations for this congress. It is known that the ethics of social life have sunk considerably since the crisis, and that is why the preparations will concentrate on raising society's standard of moral life, especially that of believers.

"I believe that the collection for the Carmel monastery in Oswiecim was completely unnecessary. No one has suggested yet whether some ecumenical religious facility would be more suitable. I do not believe it is impossible for other denominations to atone for the atrocities that were committed there."

After the press conference the Primate of Poland visited Francois Mitterand, the French president. After the meeting the office of the head of state issued a communique saying that F. Mitterand recalled the traditional bonds of friendship joining the French and Polish peoples.

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CSO: 2600/409

POLITICS

POLAND

'CARITAS' HEAD EXPLAINS ACTIVITIES OF ASSOCIATION

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Apr 86 pp 1,2

[Interview with Father Henryk Kurzepa, chairman of the Caritas Catholic Association by Elbieta Pawelek "To Cooperate With That Which Is Good"]

[Text] [Question] What is Caritas and what are its goals?

[Answer] This is an organizational of lay Catholics as well as the clergy and was established on the basis of an agreement between the government and the Episcopate in 1950. Its members are citizens as well as believers. Therefore, they have certain rights and duties with respect to the state and church. The faith in the church cannot harm the state and by the same token, the performance of one's civil duties does not run counter to the evangelical mission of the church. I would like to emphasize that the goal of the association is not so much to organize religious persons as much as to win them over to work in social welfare and education and to participation in civic activity. The association wishes to make it easier for such persons to become involved in this manner. Therefore, the membership of chaplains to this organization can in no way reduce their loyalty to the church authorities. The wish of our members and especially those in the clergy is that their adherence to the church hierarchy not exclude them from choosing their own forms of social involvement.

[Question] What sort of involvement do you mean?

It is my deepest conviction that a Catholic priest should not limit his involvement to religious service alone. Actually, many priests have an obvious predisposition to social work because of the very nature of their calling which is to carry out pastoral work that gives them a full understanding of local problems. Often, their pastoral work also gives them the ability to effectively act on a number of different problems. I can give numerous examples in which priests have initiated the construction of roads, health-care centers and blood banks. After all, such work is a part of the precept of Christian ethics that it is necessary to cooperate with what is good, regardless of any philosophical differences.

[Question] Is it for that reason that Caritas so often invokes to the ideal of love of one's neighbor?

[Answer] It not only invokes that ideal but it tries to do its work in accordance with the social teachings of the church. Over the nearly 36 years that Caritas has existed, the object of its work has always been the person in need of help and the thrust of that work has always been God's command to love your neighbor. We have had rich examples of pastoral work and Christ's epistle from the house of Simon in which He said: "You will always take the poor unto yourselves".

[Question] The poor and the seriously-ill in need of care and help. How many of these have found places in Caritas houses? What is the scope of this activity?

[Answer] Caritas operates 200 of the 500 welfare homes that exist in Poland. About 15,000 handicapped, elderly, lonely people, orphans and children are living and being cared for in these homes. Out of the 200 welfare homes, 57 of them are special homes for children and 12 are therapeutic and educational homes. As the only organization to do so in Poland, we operate an Antimycotic Sanatorium at Tuliglowy in Chelm Province and an establishment at Wierzbice near Wroclaw for spastic children of normal intelligence suffering from muscle atrophy, cleft spines and congenital bone fragility. We also manage 55 educational establishments, children's homes, preschools and one boarding school for children that are disadvantaged to various degrees. We prepare these children for self-reliant lives, teach them various trades such as tailoring, sewing and carpentry. Our 6 public kitchens help young students and the lonely and we provide more than 2000 meals each day. Many of our centers have their own farms and this has enabled us to avoid food shortages.

[Question] How do the Caritas centers differ from others?

[Answer] They differ very greatly in that the nuns and friars regard this work as their calling. They are available for 24 hours a day and this is something hard to expect from lay persons. Out of 7000 full-time positions in our homes, we employ about 2500 nuns and friars from 49 different orders. It is their selfless work that always gives our centers the highest evaluations. Where we suffer is that our nuns and friars are aging and we find it hard to replace them with younger ones.

Our welfare and education work is carried out in accordance with the planned service coordinated in the provincial governments and approved by the ministries of health and education. A serious problem in this regard is the very poor state of our centers, many of which were built 100 or more years ago for other purposes. Therefore, the work we have done to adapt or reconstruct them cannot always meet our current needs. For that reason, we have had to close some of the centers. We have partly made up for the closed centers with new establishments in Zebrzydowice and Studiennicza kolo Augustowa as well as the Day Care Home in Chelm. We are also planning to open this year an educational center in Uszyce in Czestochowa Province and a DPS [expansion unknown] for adults in Kostomloty in Biala Podlaska Province and we are also taking over the Small Children's Home in Chelm, where we will create a therapeutic and educational center.

[Question] Are the people that live in these centers always the ones that really need them? Are there sometimes cases in which the families of seriously-ill or handicapped persons try to foist their responsibilities off on others?

[Answer] We try to work with families to reduce the number of our center residents as well as the number of elderly confined to hospitals. We also try to see that once they return to their families, they will feel much better than they did with us. We try at least to do all we can to provide an alternate home and family to those that need them. Often, the families that send someone to us forget that their continuing contact has a great part to play in the healing process. For that reason, we want to become involved in social policy to aid the families of handicapped persons and direct such policy toward keeping these people with their families. One solution here would be the creation of new and better-organized day-care homes. Such homes are not only less costly to the public but are also better for the ill and the healthy because they combat our indifference to evil and our egotism. Pope John Paul II has often pointed out that "...suffering exists in the world to cause love and acts of love toward one's neighbor and that all human civilization become a civilization of love".

[Question] Charity work is the mainstream of Caritas activity. There is still another less well-known activity.

[Answer] We pay special attention to deepening the dialogue between the church and state and above all to the responsibility shared by the faithful for the solving of all social and national problems. In reacting every day to human needs, we want to counteract various shortcomings in our social life. The crisis has very keenly uncovered the danger posed by these shortcomings. We are threatened by alcoholism and parasitism leading to crime, lack of respect for public property and the law, insensitivity and increasing drug abuse. It has also been stressed in the churches pastoral program for the next few years that "morality is the weakest element in the religion of contemporary Poles". We must all work to overcome moral infirmity because all of us bear that responsibility.

[Question] The 7th Caritas Electoral Congress will be held on 16 April. What are the association's future plans?

[Answer] On the basis of the powers given us by the law on charitable associations, we wish to begin supplementing our present welfare and charity work with economic activities. We are considering the production of much-needed rehabilitation equipment, particularly for our centers. This equipment is needed not only by the handicapped but also by the residents of our homes and the lack of it dooms them to social isolation. We therefore hope to

better meet the needs of the handicapped and to acquire the resources we need to expand the activities of our association.

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CSO: 2600/376

POLITICS

POLAND

MORAWSKI VIEWS CHURCH-STATE TIES, DEFENDS 'SECULAR SCHOOL'

AU212100 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19-20 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Zdislaw Morawski: "A Sober Look at the Secular School"]

[Excerpts] It is no exaggeration to say that education is a subject that interests our entire society, which knows perfectly well what goes on in schools, what is being taught and how it is being taught. Real problems in education are cadre shortages, difficulties concerning premises, or overloaded or badly planned programs. We write a great deal about this subject in ZYCIE WARSZAWY, often critically and in detail.

However, we have lately been learning about unknown threats to the education system not from schools themselves or from journalists' observations. We are learning about these dangers from statements and assertions--which have probably not accumulated fortuitously over time--coming from certain Catholic circles. Judging by these statements, which are reflected in certain sermons and in the Catholic press, a campaign has begun or is being continued which aims at "the atheization of schools" or, to repeat an ugly neologism which was not coined by us, "the Marxization" of schools.

Too many declarations of this tenor have been made to enable one to pass over the subject in silence.

Why then have suggestions and statements suddenly emerged that are directed against the principles on which schools operate: principles which have been universally recognized for the past 10 years and whose moral and social justification is based not only on the nature of our system but also on the principle that education should not be appropriate to just one world outlook?

I often encounter the view, which is quite widespread in lay circles--that we are dealing with something of a substitute attack. Charges which undermine the status of the secular school have little to do with ideological matters or attitudes toward religion; a political game is being played in the guise of religion. It is believed that a religious "scenario" will evoke a broader response in our society, which is almost completely united in its condemnation of all manner of intolerance and is attached to its traditions, a historical tradition which is above all Catholic as well as being Polish. When one listens to certain sermons and statements one cannot dismiss such suspicions.

However, one can view the problem in other terms. If the principles governing schools are being undermined then is there not a need for something fundamental to be changed in the school system? Is there a desire to make religion a non-compulsory subject in the secular state school once again and by doing so submit programs and teachers of religion to state inspection? I do not think so. I know that the authorities have no such intentions, just as there are no grounds for undermining the existing school system which is, above all else, also the fruit of experience in the field of church-state relations.

Intolerance in whatever form does not lie in the interests of our society and Poland. We are living in difficult times, we have been through many hard tests in recent years. Church-state relations withstood these difficulties well. And even during the hardest days there were no limitations on dialogue on all matters of importance for Poles: the unchanging and enduring religious policy conducted by the state in dialogue proved itself and, when and where appropriate, in cooperation with the church.

This is a current which requires understanding and support on both sides and a calm distancing vis-a-vis incidental questions. That one has to distinguish the Biblical wheat from the chaff is a moral imperative that was not formulated yesterday but it is one that continues to be pertinent.

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CSO: 2600/409

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

CONTROVERSIAL HISTORICAL WORK REVIEWED

Bel- VJING BELO in Serbo-Croatian No 1, Jan-Feb 86 pp 109-129

[Review by Col Gen Nikola Pejnovic, retired, of book "Saveznici i jugoslovenska ratna drama" [The Allies and the Drama of Wartime Yugoslavia] by Veselin Djuretic, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti i Balkanoloski institut, Special Editions Book 23, Belgrade, 1985: "Historical Topics and 'Dilemmas'"]

[Text] The study "Saveznici i jugoslovenska ratna drama" by Dr Veselin Djuretic begins with its very title to create double ambiguities. The National Liberation Struggle and socialist revolution in Yugoslavia cannot be accommodated under the term "drama" because although they were carried out under extremely difficult historical conditions, they were carried out with great freedom-loving and revolutionary enthusiasm and culminated in the most brilliant victories, the greatest in the history of each of our nationalities and of Yugoslavia as a distinguished participant in the fight against fascism during World War II. The study's table of contents shows that the lexical definition of "drama" pertains first of all and mostly to the downfall of the Chetnik cause as a retrograde and counterrevolutionary force on Yugoslav soil, which in his very large work the author persistently and unremittently treats as a second antifascist movement in our country, above all in Serbia. The true dramas such as the collapse in April 1941, the Ustasha genocide of Serbs, the German massacres in the cities of Serbia, and the persecution of the Slovenes took place before there existed the alliance referred to. It is understandable, then, that all those who do not accept the Chetnik cause with those attributes are also unable to accept their logically inglorious end as the social drama of Yugoslavia. If one wished to put that in figurative terms, then for most of the people of Yugoslavia the term "operetta" would have served better than "drama," especially for its armed forces and the term "drama" would apply only to the Chetnik ringleaders.

The emphasized association of the allies with that kind of drama intentionally or unintentionally creates the impression that their role in our internal events has been overestimated. The contents of the book will also show that the author has portrayed and evaluated in a distorted mirror the role of the allies concerning the developments and results of internal events and that he has attributed to them the role of principals and decisive arbiters. This will be taken not only as an attempt at moral and political rehabilitation of the Chetniks, but also at proving that they were not conquered by their

internal opponents, the members of the National Liberation Movement, but were supposedly the victim of an international plot. By all appearances one's first impressions about the title being overloaded will prove to be accurate.

The results of the research are encompassed in the two-volume study, whose contents pertain equally to events within the country and those on the international scene, and the method of descriptive survey and analysis is applied throughout. The dynamic chronological orientation in the exposition of the course of history is mostly related from the problem standpoint to relations between the two "antifascist centers," as the author treats them, that is, to the relation between the Chetniks and the National Liberation Movement. In eight long chapters the author presents in detail, and with respect to many parameters at great length, the causes and course of the internal divisions, the compromises achieved, and finally the dramatic denouement--as an epilogue which is decisively related to the role of the allies, whereby the fighting and overall efforts of the National Liberation Movement are diminished in relative terms and in part devalued. It is evident from the outline of the study and from the titles of its chapters, but still more from the text itself, that the author has devoted overemphatic attention to external propaganda, portraying it as a factor decisive to the behavior of the allies, at the expense of estimation of internal efforts. The propaganda of the National Liberation Movement is frequently portrayed as inauthentic, seductive, and false, as a kind of paradox, while the propaganda of the opposing side (the Chetniks, the quislings, the London government, and a portion of the Great Serb emigre community) is not portrayed at all, much less analyzed and evaluated.

The study is unusual from the standpoint of language and style. Terminological and conceptual values are used in such a way that some kind of prior clarification is needed, since because of his pragmatic needs and intentional motives, he has strictly separated the definitions: "ethnic" from "revolutionary," "revolutionary" from "political," "ideological" from "ethnic," "political" and "communist" from "ethnic" and "political," and so on, all of this on behalf of "clearer" separation and interpretation of the internal divisions referred to (in our country the attribute "revolutionary" is related even to the creation of new nationalities, while the "ethnic" attribute is associated with the formation of the communist parties). The style is attractive, but fatiguing, as concrete as it is abstractly enshrouded in mist, and often ambiguous. The author has mostly portrayed the complicated nature of the situation in our theater, both on the internal and the external scene, with great intellectual force and exceptional analytical ability, with a refined feeling for all the political and diplomatic maneuvers, but also with a large dose of subjectivism and bias. It is a pity that methodological orientation, global commitments, and value judgments and assessments were not always in keeping with the capability for transposition. It turns out that goodwill and visual acuity are not in themselves adequate for the researching and writing of history, nor indeed is it sufficient even to have a passion for tracking things down, but what is mostly required is a clear and firm political, ideological, and moral commitment whereby it is possible to display one's authentic integrity as a scholar. It should also be said that stunted humanists may be even the best physicists, but never historians. Perhaps some of these chords will sound premature, but they were arrived at on the basis of what has already

been said in public about the author and his work, and they were also meant to clarify certain of the categories related to the title and the work's external structure.

Nothing further can be said by way of introduction to the author and his work without getting into the contents and without its appropriate analysis. Only a detailed and extensive analysis of the study and its objective critical evaluation can fully show what its scientific and social deficiencies are and what the author's contribution to research has been. We will dwell on several of the largest problems that are most virulent from the social standpoint, those which have a provocative impact and represent the backbone of all the other assessments and views derived from them. They contain a flagrant revision of the historical and political facts and judgments well known up to now, and as such they impinge upon the broadest needs of society. Among them are the arguments about the allegedly historically and socially displaced nature of the term "Great Serb hegemony" as a term and as a factor in historical scholarship; about the Chetniks as an "antifascist movement" during World War II, above all in Serbia, to which the author has also added as a force of the same kind the quisling services and forces of Ljotic and Nedjc, and his evaluation of the role of the allied factor in the course of events and their outcome in Yugoslavia.

1. On "Great Serb Hegemony"

We will quote two passages from his study in order to illustrate Djuretic's view on this issue:

"A coincidence of unusual circumstances caused the great misunderstanding of the allied world and wartime Yugoslavia. In the first days of the drama it was concealed by a state of confusion--in the face of facts which showed behavior contrary to every political forecast. The people that had been the 'oppressor' of other peoples and had been a vehicle of 'profascist' policy was the principal victim of the fascist aggressors and of a minority of 'oppressed' antifascist allies."¹

"Both people and spirits, will-o'-the-wisps of historical and social consciousness, legends and myths fought with one another in the whirlwind of the war on Yugoslav soil. Two conceptual myths had the greatest historical 'impact'--the myth of 'Great Serb hegemony and oppression' and the myth of the 'Croat Partisans.'"²

Both the passages quoted say more about the author than about the subject itself. Aside from the maliciousness as to the other "antifascist allies," the author's phrasings are imprecise from the Marxist and sociological standpoint, since he attributes Great Serb hegemonism not to a particular social group, but to the entire Serbian people, which, this much is true, was the first to feel the oppression and enslavement. However, in defining the term "hegemonism" one must make a strict distinction between the people and the managing and ruling grouping which was not behaving in the interest of the people or as its social expression, but according to the laws of the classical narrow interests and appetites of social climbers. The author has based his thesis

that there was no Great Serb hegemony exclusively on the fact that Serbia was at a lower level of economic development and that between the two wars more was invested in Croatia and Slovenia than in Serbia. There would be nothing to say in objection to that argument if abundant historical experience did not prove that class groupings in society exercise or attempt to exercise their internal or external hegemony by a broad range of measures and actions which are not always and everywhere economic or are not always and everywhere primarily economic.

The sets of instruments of military power, geostrategic position, ideological superiority, superiority in civilization, scientific achievements, and a host of other relevant criteria come together in the most highly diverse combinations in attainment of the goals of hegemony. That thesis was necessary to the author not because of its scientific soundness and historical authenticity, but because it completes the line of argument and rounds out the picture of the position of the Serbs during World War II, who, innocent and without provocation as an entire nationality, were threatened by a peril to their very existence and by biological destruction. The horrors which the Serbian people experienced are indisputable, but we cannot be satisfied merely with the emotions evoked by its fate in the recent past. That is, we must call upon scholarship for all the clarifications which can even to the slightest degree contribute to historical knowledge of that cataclysm. Along the way we will gain nothing from deleting or modifying and portraying in a favorable light the role of the Great Serb dynastic-radical-Pasicist and military-bureaucratic camarilla, whose motives the author reduces to achieving a well-meaning progressive and disinterested "homogenization" of Yugoslavia.

It is not possible, nor indeed necessary, to elaborate more broadly in this context the principles and practice of the ruling structures of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, but it is worthwhile to recollect some of them so that the debate is not left without any arguments whatsoever. It was not possible to achieve "homogenization" of the ethnic mosaic of Yugoslavia by the methods of dictate, assimilation, and a government structure which was more associated with the concept of "Great Serbia" than with a community of several ethnic individualities. It was natural to anticipate and experience diverse cases of resistance to that kind of policy and the emergence of political movements whose goals were national freedom and equality, but also intensified military-police repression on the part of the regime as a countermeasure to such processes. The methods and goals of social and political disenfranchisement of the working class by prohibiting it from organizing politically and through trade unions, coincided completely with the policy of interethnic relations and was fully integrated with it. Anticommunism on the external and internal fronts brought it about that the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was the last European country to recognize the USSR as an entity of the international community by establishing diplomatic relations with it, which it did just before the war began. The anticommunist hysteria, with an especially favorable attitude toward the White Guard emigre community from tsarist Russia, combined with nebulous dreams of inheriting the tsarist throne of the Romanovs, had a direct relation to the behavior and relations of the Chetnik-Monarchist forces even during the war. Incidentally, during the entire existence of the old state the Great Serb elite held the diplomatic service and the country's international relations

almost exclusively in its own hands. Almost to the same degree on the internal side it had sovereign power over the military, police, and administrative apparatus, which it had formed and which it directed on the principles of devotion to the king and to the monarchy. The prime ministers and ministers of the armed forces and foreign affairs were always Serbs from Serbia (with the episodic exception of Korosec), which is an illustration in the small of relations as a whole. When we add to this the credit it had earned as victor and "liberator," along with the claims to various social privileges, and above all the claim to wield power in the areas "annexed," the hegemony was manifested at the lowest level after the pattern of acquired rights to primacy in the life of society. Tendencies toward linguistic supremacy were even displayed. Aside from that, the demographic placement of the Serbian population throughout almost the entire breadth of Yugoslav space was objectively favorable to the practice and expression of hegemonistic goals in the situation where the ruling circles resorted to the concept of ethnic majorization.

"The unresolved nationality question especially deepened the internal political instability. In the newly created state with a multinational composition political hegemony of the Serbian bourgeoisie, which relied on the forces of the victors in the war and itself possessed a military force, was established. The hegemonistic policy aroused fierce resistance from the bourgeois national movements, especially the Croats and Slovenes, who strove for a division of the political power and protection of their own economic interests. That is why interethnic political struggles flared up from the very beginning in the newly created state."³

All of this (and one might cite many similar examples) imparted a visible imprint on the former government system and had an impact on conditions and on the situation both in the April war and also during the National Liberation Struggle, so that the science of history should accordingly establish the measures and manners of their manifestation, rather than taking refuge by denying something which objectively existed in society. This does not, of course, mean justifying those sinister forces which were working to break up and partition Yugoslavia in the name of Hitler's New Order, a Hapsburg Catholic federation, or dogmatically limited slogans of the Comintern. Especially does this not mitigate the monstrous Ustasha genocidal atrocity, which is rare in the entire history of the human race among peoples of the same or similar origin and character.

Accordingly, no metaphysical forces embodied in spirits, myths, and legends, as the author refers to them, were fighting in Yugoslavia at all, but rather real social forces that had arisen out of the real relations of the former society, and not only from its Serbian segment, but out of its entire existence. Nor is it a contribution to the truth of history, and no service is done to the Serbian people by denying anything which historically existed and which has long been generally recognized, instead of clarifying a particular social phenomenon like hegemony in historical terms by exposing its causes and consequences using Marx's analytical method. Nor is it any accident that Dimitrije Tucovic has recently come under attack by neonationalist and ideological critics.

2. On Chetnik "Antifascism"

In order to illustrate the author's views we will again make use of passages from the book.

"Chetnik antifascism, in its adaptation to the given situation of the occupation, permitted various forms of behavior—from combative (sporadic and limited), and then self-defensive on a territorial basis, which signified control of more or less all the rural settlements, to collaborationist behavior on an anticommunist basis, which at times negated the very nature of the people's antioccupier commitment. Yet in both its ideology and politics it was directed against the enslavers, and it clearly emphasized this in all its propaganda of preparing its followers for the final showdown—'when the time comes.'"⁴

"Those reports which lowered the Chetnik organization to the true level of a quisling force came in from Partizan sources by means of the Comintern services. At times they were embroidered with exaggerations and one-sidedness. In September 1942 the most frequent were reports about agreements of the Chetniks with the Germans, from which the principal motive of temporary anticommunist compromises was omitted—protecting the Serbian people against reprisals."⁵

We note that the author does not tackle the job of moral and political justification of the Chetnik collaboration, since for him the anticommunist motive is sufficient to justify national treason. It was to turn out later that in that view he was considerably beneath the ethics of the British Conservatives. That is, the Chetnik declarative propaganda is not an "exaggeration," but this applies only to what came from "Partizan sources," which ultimately comes down to saying that the Partizans were to blame for the treasonous crime of the Chetnik bigwigs.

One gains the unambiguous impression on the basis of the entire study that its deepest purport is to prove the thesis of Chetnik antifascism in Serbia and Yugoslavia, i.e., the thesis of a second liberation movement in Yugoslavia, thereby to furnish it political and moral affirmation, with all the social repercussions which follow therefrom. What is more, the author extends the term Serbian antifascism to include not only the Chetniks of Draza Mihailovic, but all the other quislings and collaborationists as well such as Milan Acimovic, Dimitrije Ljotic, and Milan Nedic with their entourages, arguing the necessity and justifiability of their emergence and the role which they had during the occupation on existential grounds. That serves as the basis for creating a desperate terminological and political logic whereby it is possible at one and the same time to work with the fascists and to be an antifascist. Moreover, in a strangely biased way the author comes down hard on leftwing propaganda, which ends up with the greatest blame for the fact that the domestic and allied public were erroneously informed and led astray with respect to the ethnic and antifascist mission of those vassals of the occupier. In order to clarify his point of view and make it convincing the author has along the way come out against the changes associated with 27 March 1941, which does everything to round out his conception.

The author expresses and formulates the line of demarcation between the national liberation movement led by the CPY and the so-called Chetnik movement by equations of a sort, in which the Chetnik term reads ethnic political realism of the noncombative type; while the term of the National Liberation Struggle is international revolutionary realism of the recklessly combative and armed type. Even this initial classification of the character and goals of the two sides contains essential scientific and practical political distortions. They lie in the fact that the national liberation movement is altogether deprived of its ethnic attribute, while the counterrevolutionary attribute of the Chetnik movement is covered up and then in the later treatment turns out to be a matter of tactical maneuver and is justified as such. It is correct and understandable for the author to try to elucidate and clarify the extremely difficult and cruel conditions under which the Serbian people found itself in Serbia and outside it during the 1st year of the wartime events and that he should accordingly try, and here he was partially successful, to calmly separate the propaganda "overlays" from the facts and the real events, but it is not clear why he does not do this in a consistent, scrupulous, and impartial manner. The author binds the quantity "combative" in the equation referred to exclusively to the national liberation movement, while he attributes to the Chetniks passivity and a peacemaking role with dubious commando activity, but allegedly only against the occupier, leaving unexplained their extreme and fanatical militance against the armed forces of the National Liberation War and of the people whose orientation was antifascist. It is no accident that the author fails to mention the initiative of the Chetniks in connection with the attack on the Partisans in Serbia in 1941. Similarly, with the greatest understanding, he treats the Chetnik-occupier collaboration as a patriotic and morally permissible mode of behavior, indeed even as a strategic orientation to be recommended. "Tito made the greatest use of the symbols of coalition in order to discredit the Chetniks. Mystifying his own ideological goals, through his concrete combat activity he created a propaganda screen, so that before the eyes of the world his adversary would begin to plunge into the abyss between his own national political motives imposed by the circumstances and the communist and international political reasoning."⁶ Does this not resemble, indeed even in its terminology, pro-Chetnik lecturing and anticommunist rabble-rousing?

Nor does the author come up to the level of scientific objectivity even when he is explaining the reprisals against the people in Serbia as the primary and indeed even sole motive of the Chetnik commitment and behavior during the entire war. The fact of the matter is that the "Serbian antifascists," all the way from Dimitrije Ljotic to Draza Mihailovic, constituted the main segment of the system and undertook the reprisals and were the most active participants in all the persecutions of the Serbian patriots and the Serbian people as a whole. The well-known bloody mass inquisitions, the places where executions were carried out in the camps, the police raids, and the bestial Chetnik slaughters were not merely the business of the German conqueror and his military and police forces, but they were a joint act by the concerted external and internal fascist-co'laborationist factors which were entirely on a par in performance of that function.⁷

The occupier's domestic collaborators claimed more Serbian victims than the German conquerors. While one reflects on that historical event, it is impossible not to turn to the present and not to relate our current defensive orientation to the past. That is, in our constitution and other legal documents we have proclaimed the principle that no one has the right to sign or to recognize capitulation and occupation, that all citizens are required to continue armed combat and all other struggle in the rear of the aggressor's front under all conditions, that every act of cooperation with the occupier is regarded as the most serious act of treason and is to be punished most severely. Is this revolutionary dogmatic-sectarian fanaticism, which is the only way it could be described using Djuretic's standards of history, or is this a real national revolutionary orientation in the worldwide constellations of the present and future? We do not consider this a counterargument to the author's rationale about the situation in Serbia, since it is a question of very different times and social conditions, but we refer to it as an example that there are various ways of seeking a way out of difficult crisis situations of the past and future. For example, one might state the hypothesis, more theoretical than practical, that the situation in Serbia would have been altogether different if the Chetniks had not turned toward fanatic anticommunist activity, not only in order to prevent reprisals, but because of their own dominant motive, and if they had not extended their network and oppression to terrorize all Serbian villages and cities--the liberation movement would have found the capability of constantly and gradually mobilizing an ever larger number of fighters in Serbia and of welding them into units in other regions to the point of the downfall of the German conquerors. This thesis is supported by the fact that the Chetniks, in Croatia, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in Montenegro sought and accepted still more open collaboration with the occupier, who was not applying repressive measures against the population like those of the Germans in Serbia, and where the primary rule in order to rescue the Serbian people was to wage the strongest possible armed combat against the monstrous acts of violence of the Ustashi. What is more, the Chetniks began and practiced to the end a collaboration with the Ustashi, and not merely with the Italians, the Germans, and other occupiers.⁸

Finally, the argument, perhaps in itself sufficient, should be stated to the effect that anyone who collaborated with the occupier and during the entire war joined the occupier and other quislings in conducting fierce and open combat against the forces of the national liberation movement, regardless of motives and ultimate intentions, cannot be described as an antifascist force nor as a second antifascist center in Yugoslavia.

An equally bizarre debate was conducted at one time about whether the Home Guards (domobrani) were a "reserve of the revolution" or an integral part of the occupier-quisling system, and the author of that thesis proved his motives by his own example in the denouement. That is, it is an old and proven scientific motto that it is not possible to judge someone from what they think and say about themselves, nor on the basis of what they intend, but exclusively according to where they objectively are in a particular situation and what they do. It is a historic truth, no dilemma should be opened up on this point without ulterior motive, that the Chetniks, after involuntary initial steps which were not overly patriotic, carried out attacks everywhere against the

Partizan forces 2 months after the uprising and began to withdraw and turn towards the occupier all the way to the point of complete identification with him, and during the entire war the Chetnik leadership displayed savage anti-communism and enmity toward everything liberative and in the tradition of democratic liberty.⁹ Instead of seeking an appropriate definition for the treasonous, collaborationist, chauvinist, and anticommunist activity of the Chetnik cause and its place on the scale of Yugoslav and European fascist and pro-fascist activity, the author strains to defend its dirty and bloody banners. After all, while he is researching and explaining the causes and modes of the origin and development of this phenomenon, scholarship is traveling on its own track. As soon as he switches to defending them and pleading for them, accompanied by false value judgments, there is an inevitable "backsliding" of scholarship, and since we are not dealing with scholarship alone, nor can the subject matter of the debate be allowed to remain solely within its precincts, the broader social consequences are obvious and inevitable.

3. The Allies and Propaganda

Djuretic has interpreted in great detail and at some considerable length the archive sources for writing a historical treatment of his topic. In so doing his criterion has been that of historichronology, he does not attempt to subcategorize the problems, and he does not endeavor to provide sizable cross sections of lengthy periods of time in order to create a clearer and less elongated picture. Every reader, especially the reader whose approach is that of scientific history, will get the impression that the author is recounting and commenting upon diplomatic correspondence and the daily press from day to day, which inevitably gives the impression of repetition and of going around in circles without a corresponding value of the knowledge gained. Even because of this kind of style and method it is probably no accident, nor is it unrelated to the projected results which were supposed to be achieved by presentation of the abundant historical material. The problem here does not lie only in broad or condensed presentation, but in the deeper sense and function of what is being made known in this way. Apparently the objective position of equal distance from both opposed "antifascist" movements in Yugoslavia makes it possible for the author to make the descriptions of external and propaganda events more important than what happened on the battlefield and in the political arena within the country. It is clear that this is a position of false scholarly objectivity, since history is not to be found solely in archive "scraps" and little pieces of paper, nor is it the historian's role to merely act the role of stage director in their presentation.

Evaluation of the goals of the participants in the conflict, of their social character, as well as of the strategies of the two sides whereby they wish to realize their goals constitute the backbone and only correct methodological support in this kind of undertaking in the writing of history. This is in fact one of the main keys which the author has intentionally or unintentionally neglected in "unlocking the main lock" on the "door" of his subject matter. However unlikely and indeed even horrifying it might seem, the fact is that even now the author did not want or was not able to grasp the character and goals of the national liberation war and socialist revolution in Yugoslavia. This constitutes the major portion of the explanation of what our

scholarly and other public has been criticizing in terms of the author's mistakes or intentional distortions. The essence lies in the narrowed nationalistic vision and narrow sectarian-dogmatic interpretations. At the center of Djuretic's exploration are the threatened Serb population and the alien international communist inroads at the blind service of a foreign power.... This may seem to be oversimplified and undiscerning, but it would be hard to avoid less drastic observations as a means of cutting through the quasi-scholarly wrappings. This assertion would be unfair and inaccurate if the author had left these points of view to the Chetniks, but when he identifies himself with them and becomes their fan and advocate, then that is not the scholar's position of objectivity.

Djuretic does not recognize at all the national liberation component of the national liberation movement, but considers everything pertaining to it as Phariseism, trickery, deception, and immorality. Without a profound and essential understanding of the historical and social facts that revolutionary transformation could not have taken place in Yugoslavia without a consistent and broadly based national liberation struggle, one must run headlong into a wall not only in politics, but also in scholarship. That same maxim also applies the other way around--that it would not have been possible either to begin or complete any sort of national liberation struggle without the declared goal of no return to the way things were. Djuretic has left the nationality policy and the struggle for national liberation to the Chetniks, as is evident from his formulas, and he has attributed to the National Liberation War, in accordance with his lifeless diagrams, only a communist revolution represented by the phrase "revolutionary internationalism." "And the name of a movement with the attributes 'national' and 'liberation' led the foreign observer to define its rivals as the opposite of those categories."¹⁰ The author is very careful everywhere to see that the "rival" is not damaged, and he speaks like a censor in saying that the National Liberation Movement did not use the attributes "communist and revolutionary" in its propaganda. For him the propaganda of the national liberation movement was hypocritical and corrupt because it refused to accept the fact that our nationalities were waging a national liberation war, so that everything that is said in this connection seems to him like a trick.

It is strange that Djuretic's attention was not drawn to the broader world history being written, in which he would find that so far all socialist revolutions have been carried out within the framework of international wars and in the form of a national liberation struggle. The Paris Commune rose up not only against the French version of the Croat landed gentry belonging to Thiers, but above all the Prussian Junkers and Bismarck's conquerors. The October Revolution could not have been carried out in the absence of the struggle against the foreign interventionists and their internal followers as an extension of World War I. The Chinese socialist revolution also was resolving the problems of a national liberation war in its most decisive phase, and much the same is true of the others. In our case it was a question of waging a national liberation struggle within World War II, which was for all the countries and forces of the anti-Hitler coalition a just and liberative war, and this not only facilitated, but it in fact dictated inclusion of the liberative efforts in the general and worldwide progressive efforts. In addition, it is a fact that it

was a question of mortal danger to a great Slavic and at the same time socialist country, which reduced all selfish manipulations to the smallest possible measure. This remark has to do with the author's assertion that the CPY took an irresponsible and fanaticized attitude toward the situation and fate of the Serbian people and that it blindly strove only for revolution and the struggle for power. In this connection one should not deny all the sporadic wanderings and cases of extremes which cause the greatest damage to the national liberation movement, although the author observes that the Chetniks did not take sufficient advantage of them. There were dogmatic-sectarian manifestations, not only in connection with the well-known cases of extreme behavior, but they were gradually overcome, and the movement more and more took on a popular democratic breadth.

After this basic observation the author's assessments of the allies and of their role in the wartime events in Yugoslavia become understandable. First of all, their role is exaggerated beyond all measure, and together with "leftwing propaganda" it is portrayed as fateful and decisive as to the ultimate results: "Winston Churchill and Josef Visarionovic Stalin had the decisive influence in Yugoslav events."¹¹ Moreover, aside from the conceded emphasis of the strength and effects of leftwing propaganda centers, it is a question of reductionism with respect to the dynamic pace of events in our theater, which are placed in the shadow of the allied role and some kind of leveling with respect to the Chetniks, so that it turns out that the propaganda of the national liberation movement was unrealistic and pretentious to the point of bragging: "The national liberation movement burst onto the international scene and imposed itself on the allied powers thanks primarily to its successes and victories and because since as early as 1941 it had been offering decisive resistance to their efforts to subordinate the liberation struggle of the nationalities of Yugoslavia exclusively to their own military and political interests; thus the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia was recognized as an important military factor with which the allied powers established cooperation."¹²

The logical question arises as to why the author has omitted to say a single word about Chetnik and rightwing propaganda, which was dominant for a long time, and why he did not say that it was false and that it invented Chetnik victories or attributed Partizan victories to them?

"Thanks to the leftwing propaganda organs, the conflict on the general wartime scene was ideologically mystified and reduced pretty much to the basic and highly oversimplified wartime attributes: profascist and antifascist forces. This omitted that universal criterion of evaluation which derives appraisals from the sum total of relations--beginning with their ideas and going to their manifestations, from the basic coordinates of wartime relations--for or against the occupier."¹³ (It bothers Djuretic that members of the National Liberation Movement did not wave their party cards and reveal their ideas, and also that no one knew who they were or what they were for, while along with that he sticks to the argument that the Chetniks did not want to collaborate with the occupiers either.)

While the Chetniks waited passively and statically, except when they were involved in fights with the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, the forces of the NOVJ found themselves in direct armed conflict with impressive forces of some six occupiers and just as many quislings, including also the Chetniks, which required an altogether different type of dynamic behavior and richer and more expressive portrayal of its physiognomy. After all, quantitative reductionism of this kind inevitably results in qualitative injury and real depreciation of the forces and efforts of the national liberation movement.

Adhering to his scheme concerning the character and goals of our national liberation movement and also concerning its political and military strategy, the allied role and importance are portrayed in an equally unrealistic way. British policy, led by Churchill as its principal protagonist, has been given extremely bad marks which are reduced to the common denominator of not having known what it was about. It is judged to have been immature and confused, afraid of the Soviets and burdened with its own old complexes about "Great Serb hegemony," uninformed and deceived by Partizan propaganda, so that it lost a sense of what kind of movement was involved and why the struggle was being waged. (At one point MacLean tells how he told Churchill that after the war Yugoslavia would be a "communist state," and received the reply: "That is their affair, we are not going to live there.")

All the lexical capabilities of language have been mobilized to prove the moral and political perfidy of the propaganda of the National Liberation Movement in deceiving the allies and the foreign public, including these: "seduction," "political trickery," "snared in a web," "leftwing game," "threat," "screen for leftwing policy," "the game being played by the Soviets and the National Liberation Movement," "the clever game of the communist forces," and so on. On all grounds British policy should have remained alongside the Chetniks, regardless of their behavior and role, and since that did not happen, Djuretic scornfully proclaims it to have been treasonous, immoral, and stupid, which is equal to the blackest sacrilege: "It also led American policy toward Yugoslavia down the wrong road, and the latter only expressed surprise from time to time about some of the British ideas and interpretations."¹⁴ Then not only the propaganda of the national liberation movement, but also the British military intelligence correspondence came under attack. The author sees and perceives British policy as a whole in a way similar to that of the disappointed and angry Chetniks, and he is also biased in his observation of the national liberation struggle in Yugoslavia and the moves made by its leadership.

In order to prove that the Partizans "outwitted" the British and led them into deception, there is a reference in the book to the so-called parliamentary game which apparently the Western public liked and which consisted of electing and appointing people to head the antifascist councils and to their membership only for the purpose of political deception. The Liberation Front of Slovenia gets ironic treatment as a whole as an example of a successful front, and much the same is true of the Montenegrin assemblies at Ostrog and on Sutjeska. The names of noble men and great fighters and patriots are enumerated, men such as Ivan Ribar, Josip Vidmar, Vladimir Nazor, Svetozar Ritig, Marko Vujacic, Vlado Zecevic, Vojislav Kecmanovic, Savo Orovic, Josip Smolaka, Sreten Zujovic,

Mosa Pijade, and others, in which connection he cynically adds that we wrote about some of them and gave their titles: senator, priest, military officer, writers, and so on, but concealed the party membership of the communists. The names of great people, not only alive, but also dead, have always been used as moral and promotional symbols to serve social change. Their names were not used in order to deceive anyone, but rather it was a question of the positions they held in the organization of society, and their names and activity were used above all to meet the purposes of domestic mobilization and to win favor for the policy of liberation, and they were naturally justified even in the domain of international influences. It is blasphemy pure and simple to reduce that to a trick. After all, we must preserve and nurture the memory of those great figures much as has been done in history with Vuk Karadzic, the priest Matej Nenadovic, Dositej Obradovic, and many others.

Burdened by the obsession of the universal anti-Serbian conspiracy, which must rightly be honored for the situation in 1941, the author has conducted his research with great suspicion toward anyone who appeared on the historical horizon, including often the forces and factors of the national liberation war, which, unaccompanied by an appropriate line of argument, seems like a paradox and a kind of insinuation. It is dangerous before history to equate Tito's anti-Chetnik revolutionary orientation and his determination to break up the counterrevolutionary danger which they represented with his attitude toward the Serbian people and Serbian working class. The author also places in the same rank the "myth of the Croat Partizans," which is equated with the myth of Great Serb hegemony, and it lies in the fact that units of predominantly Serbian membership in Croatia unjustifiably bore the name "Croat." After all, the important thing for Tito and our struggle was for there to be as many Partizan units as possible, and it was not so important whether they would be called Serb or Croat. Incidentally, the term "Croat" is not merely an ethnic attribute, but also a geographic one (the author makes no objections to the names of the Bosnian units). It is historic truth that all the units in Croatia except the 1st Brigade (the Lika-Kordun-Banija Brigade) bore local and regional names such as Lika, Kordun, Dalmatian, Banija, Slavonia, coastal and mountain, and so on, and that they were a part of the National Liberation Army of Croatia and under the command of its general staff. The I Corps of the National Liberation Army of Croatia was referred to in its abbreviated version as the I Croatian Corps, which did not fully correspond to its ethnic composition. But regardless of the composition, it could not logically have been referred to as Serbian. Later on the corps were given Yugoslav numerical nomenclature in spite of the number of the regional designation as the VIII Dalmatian, the X Zagreb, the XII Vojvodina, the V Krajina, and so on, while only the Slovenian, Serbian, and Macedonian units were indicated not only by a number, but also by national designations. In his telegrams to the Comintern and to "Free Yugoslavia" Tito used various terms--both local and national--and he moreover often used the name "Croat" not in order to deceive anyone in the world, but because the listeners to the radio station "Free Yugoslavia" included Croat listeners, and it had an exceptionally motivational impact on them, especially on members of the Croatian Peasant Party. Referring in the propaganda to the units as being Croat units was aimed at combating the Ustashi and dispelling the myth about the so-called Independent State, since a high percentage of the Croat population had been taken in by that illusion.

Djuretic is especially bothered by the equalization, the term he used for concealment of Croat passivity and collaboration with the occupier at the expense of the involvement of Serbs in the fight throughout the country, but he does not see this as Tito's dissatisfaction with the state of affairs, and perhaps also unpleasant feeling before the Comintern, but conceives it as an anti-Serb tendency and concealment of the national shame and of those responsible for it in Croatia. That assessment can be arrived at by analyzing the telegrams to the Comintern in mid-1942, in which Tito was exceptionally gratified by the fact that larger numbers of Dalmatians were joining the Partizans.

For anyone who is not burdened by chauvinism and is not politically blind, it was altogether natural and necessary to keep all channels open for gradual attraction of the Croat masses over to the positions of the liberation movement and the socialist revolution. The anti-Serb tendency can be seen in this only by those who have been preparing a revanchist showdown because of the criminal Ustasha genocide, people who have suspected that the Ustashi might sooner or later be buried and lost under the name "Croat Partizans," thereby at the same time deceiving the allied public. Instead of clarifying the so-called myth about the Croat Partizans, the author attempts to create another myth--about the struggle of the Chetniks against the Germans in Serbia in 1943 and 1944.

The importance the researcher attributes to the criterion of selectivity of archive data and the principle that their treatment is not to serve as a source of underhanded plants and intrigues at the level of gossip is best seen from the fantastic half-concealed quotations and footnotes to the effect that strong Partizan forces were operating in the vicinity of the Jasenovac camp, but for mysterious reasons did not even attempt to liberate it, or another insinuation which is similar in its lack of scruples to the effect that the Anglo-American bombers were sent by order of the Partizan General Staff only to targets in Serbian cities, while others (the reference is to Croatian cities), again because of a similar mystery, went undamaged. On four occasions the author has given us a slap by mentioning the insignificant and obscure figure of Lieutenant Colonel Marko Mesic, who was captured as one of Pavelic's legionnaires in the USSR, and was later made commander of the Yugoslav Brigade created there (the Soviets acted similarly with certain other countries). The case is raised to the level of principle and is abused as an anti-Serb argument, and at the same time mention is made that the Chetniks in the Cacak area did not for that reason want to surrender to that brigade, although the Soviets so ordered. We cite these several examples among a multitude of others not only because the author passed them on, although here again there is a question mark, but more because he expressed no reservation whatsoever about their authenticity and maliciousness, which does not do credit to research of this kind.

Qualitative reductionism in relations between Moscow and the national liberation war of the peoples of Yugoslavia has been achieved at great harm to its political and military-strategic independence. Relations within the triangle of Moscow, London, and the national liberation movement have been utterly oversimplified and reduced to an intolerable measure of obedience on the one hand and tricks on the other.

"A set of numerous circumstances placed Tito in a situation where he was compelled still more to make choices among the versions imposed upon him or offered to him than to create the development of events on his own. The general conditions for this kind of choice were determined by the fact that the national liberation movement had become the backbone also of various allied interests toward Yugoslavia and the denominator of their common war policy. This made the choice of the Partizan commander-in-chief simpler, since as a disciplined communist he could only choose the version offered by the Comintern, that is, by the Soviet Government."¹⁵

Perhaps the author was able on the basis of various archive sources to arrive at that fundamentally mistaken evaluation, but historical reality, which is the best judge, utterly denies and corrects it. As a matter of fact it is important to an evaluation of Tito's activity to establish his great independent creative power and role, which is related to his strong political and military intuition and determination to stubbornly carry out his own conceptions. In this area we have been damaged by reductionism of the qualitative kind, and the reference is to the period when Tito had not only declared himself to be against fascism and Hitlerism, but was in fact participating with his forces in defense of the country, even at the time when Stalin was in a cordial Entente with Hitler, and the Comintern was actually revising its earlier policy. It is evident from that, by means of the documents of the fifth national conference and May Party Conference, that the CPY did not commence the struggle only after Germany's attack on the USSR, but considerably earlier. However, still more significant to the evaluation of Tito's major role in the national liberation war is the fact that with his collaborators he independently defined the character, goals, political, and military strategy of the national liberation movement and all the modes of subsequent organization and realization of the initial concept. The organic unity of the national liberation struggle and the revolution was not defined and demanded by the Comintern, but was indigenous and an original notion of the CPY and of Josip Broz Tito. It was important to Moscow that armed combat and commando operations against the occupier's military force begin as soon as possible in order to relieve as much as possible the critical position on the Soviet front. They permitted and suggested revolution only after the war, after the victory over fascism had been won, which is the old classical and rigidly schematic concept of revolution, one which according to the well-known conceptions absolutely had to take place by stages in time. The strategy of mass popular uprisings through the form of Partizan warfare (along with other forms of action) was accommodated to the political goals and immediate armed obligations on the domestic and broader international scenes. The strategic center of gravity was carried from the cities to the broad areas outside the cities, and the peasants became involved in the movement as the principal military and social force, while the Comintern expected commando operations and street fighting in the cities, and later general strikes and barricades.¹⁶ The organization and development of the military force of the national liberation movement were just as much Tito's original creation as the ways in which it was used in strategy and tactics. Much the same is true of the organization of popular government in the form of national liberation committees and antifascist councils, which Moscow became involved with only in order to bring relations with the British allies and Yugoslav Government into conformity with relations of a wartime coalition. No

one outside could assume the right of arbiter in testifying about the constitutional and statist problems of the future system of government, including the country's federal structure and nationality question. The federal concept of Yugoslavia does not fit with Djuretic's thesis about the official establishment of the Serbs, but that is not a problem of our independence in the national liberation war, still less is it an anti-Serb tendency, but above all an objective social and historical category. Much the same is true of all the other basic solutions which had to do with the way the struggle was waged and its results. As for relations in the triangle, at first there was excessively great suspicion, uncertainty, and a lack of independence with respect to Great Britain, and in part also toward the United States, but gradually self-confidence and independence was acquired, many suggestions and positions of the principal patron were not accepted, just as was the case with points of view concerning the Chetniks, the king, the London government, and later an ever greater number of issues. By contrast with the author's assessment, one might posit somewhat more freely and demonstratively the thesis that Moscow, including both centers--the Comintern and Stalin, was more listening and keeping abreast of what Tito was doing and what he was intending than it was determining the conceptual goals and methods of the liberation war in Yugoslavia. They helped us more in their propaganda than with their ideas and their material. Only later came the steps to "put us in the cage," which they still did not manage to do, precisely because of our independent and relatively self-sufficient role in the war.

Djuretic felt that he should also strengthen his previous assessment with the following observation: "On several occasions Tito emphasized his luck during the war, making less mention of the sets of objective circumstances which brought about many conditions favorable for the national liberation movement, especially circumstances of a national and international character which had an influence by virtue of the interdependence of the general and particular factors, making for a kind of fertile soil for affirmation of revolutionary action."¹⁷

Djuretic refers to five factors among those "favorable conditions":

- i. Hitler's attitude toward the Serbs (the author refuses to honor the fact that that attitude also burdened Tito with the Chetnik counterrevolution and treason);
- ii. the Ustasha slaughter of the Serbs (it would be correct to emphasize that it was not just the slaughters that turned people into Partizans, but above all the action of the CPY in carrying out the uprising);
- iii. the influence of various Croat centers in the emigre community, which assisted the leftwing propaganda in breaking up the Great Serb policy (it is obvious that this factor is not of the same order of magnitude);
- iv. the realignment of the Croat and Muslim population on the Partizan side "unpunished" (this stressing of "unpunished" is significant, just as is the failure to mention that a portion of the Serbian masses who had been deceived by the Chetniks and still more were compelled by the terror later

enthusiastically flowed into the ranks of the National Liberation Struggle in large numbers, except for the anticommunist fanatics of the Chetnik leadership);

v. the dramatic outcome in the nationalistic portion of the Serbian people, as the author puts it, was not related to the national liberation struggle and the Partizans, but to the arrival of the Red Army, although the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia carried out the principal military showdown with the Chetniks before the Red Army crossed the Danube at Turn-Severin.

According to Djuretic, the conditions thus sketched out were more important than the fighting, patriotic and revolutionary action of the leading forces of the national liberation movement, and the heroic (with no overtones of pathos) efforts of the broad masses of people of all the nationalities of Yugoslavia. Others also had conditions for action of various kinds, but their can be no comparison in the scale and results of the movement. Incidentally, it turns out that these determinants and Stalin's thought were the decisive factor both of our deepest and broadest general national and revolutionary rebirth, which at one time the Informbiro actually asserted.

Epilogue

In this case there is no question of a summary of what has already been said, nor of a general assessment of the study. First, because in a partial analysis of this size it is superfluous to repeat anything in a briefer concluding version, and second, because the analysis of Djuretic's study is not all-inclusive so that a general and complete assessment might be based on it. The critical review has dealt with only some of the problems and content of the book which are most irritating both from the standpoint of the writing of history and also from the social and political standpoint, those which demand to be pointed up the earliest, and this has been done, of course, with no claim to have been right in all respects. Through this analysis, incomplete though it is, it is possible to assert with a great deal of confidence that the author entered into this research undertaking from defective positions, that his methodological orientation was mistaken, and that he arrived at many scientifically unacceptable and objectively unfounded assessments and conclusions. He has looked at history anew through a narrow nationalistic lens, preoccupied with heavy emotions about the tragic fate of the Serbian people which was threatened by an existential danger at one moment in history. With that orientation he was led to a situation of conceiving all Serbs as a national monolith and all equally at the service of destiny for their own national salvation. That is why scientific truth for him is that everyone who attacks the Chetniks and who opposes the other quislings is at the same time an opponent of the Serbian people. In Serbia people are all antifascists, the thesis goes, and the Serbian situation stands above all ideologies. That premise is also the basis for developing a pronouncedly chauvinistic complex with almost paranoid manifestations, especially concerning the Croats, and to some extent a suspicion toward the Partizan side as well. The extent of the author's shift from the objective positions indispensable to science is best shown by the fact that with the care and detail of a censor he has offered a survey and analysis of the propaganda of the national liberation movement during the war

(and it takes up a large portion of the space), accompanied by comments which most frequently come down to alleged intentions of tricking the world, while the propaganda of the so-called other antifascist movement, to which as he sees it all the quislings in Serbia belong, including the propaganda organs of the London government and the Chetnik emigre community in the United States--receives hardly a word. It is emphasized in the introduction that one of the aims of this undertaking was to strip away the propaganda overlay from the historic truth, which would signify that the quisling nationalistic propaganda was so truthful that no sort of subsequent corrections on behalf of scientific history can even be thought of.

The relations among the allies, which is the basis of the study, are made to serve the conceptions referred to and are viewed through the lens of the "Yugoslav drama," which is Yugoslav only in its name, in which the method used is that of broad and extensive exposition of the chronological and dynamic type, with comments that are in part shrewd and realistic, and in part fatiguing, ambiguous, and extremely biased. Put simply, everything comes down to Churchill and British diplomacy--through machinations, deceptions, and trickery worthy of a magician--having managed to be led astray and to be won over, while Stalin made virtuoso moves to bring our national liberation struggle onto the world scene until he ultimately managed to obtain its international recognition. The assessments which pertain to processes of this kind are intentionally burdened with a complex of suspicion toward the Croat emigre factor, although a portion of the criticism of their role does have its place.

It is possible that reviews of this two-volume book might also be under a certain influence of emotions, those emotions which are related to participants in the events and those which arise out of our situation today, which is characterized by the growth of nationalistic phenomena and chauvinistic passions. That is why scientific criticism, which certainly will continue, must place under its magnifying glass not only this study, but indeed all kinds of critical analyses on behalf of broad points of support for creating an objective general appraisal and possible corrections of partial judgments. It is certain that many other aspects of the book will also be contested, but probably parts will also be singled out to be given passing grades with a varying degree of value. Accordingly, the book is contradictory in the extent to which its author has wavered controversially between his own differing political, ideological, and traditional concepts. The historical truth will certainly be winnowed out from certain pseudoscientific burdens, but in no case, it is certain, will it be able to rescue and defend the book as a whole, for the simple reason, to state it allegorically, that a ship with several large holes cannot be saved from sinking.

FOOTNOTES

1. Veselin Djuretic, "Saveznici i jugoslovenska ratna drama," Belgrade, 1985, Vol I, p 27.
2. Ibid., Vol II, pp 252-253.

3. "Povijest Saveza komunista Jugoslavije" [History of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia], Publication Center of Komunist, Narodna knjiga, and Rad, first edition, Belgrade, 1985, p 59.
4. Ibid., Vol II, pp 192-193.
5. Ibid., Vol I, pp 175-176.
6. Ibid., Vol I, p 146.
7. The author also extended his defense to the appeal to the Serbian people which was an instrument used for pacification by the German occupiers, wherein he has shown his full consistency (VREME, 13 August 1941).
8. In a letter dated 15 April 1945 to the lawyer Ranko Brasic carrying a message to Ante Pavelic and instructions for negotiations with him concerning a common struggle against the National Liberation Movement. Draza Mihailovic sent to "His Excellency" Pavelic gratitude for "kindness and the invitation," expressions "of respect," and the hope of keeping the "honorable word of a soldier," and a letter to Stepinac on the same date included the following: "Sending to you this request I like to believe that your Eminence is following in the steps of your great predecessors in responding to all of those historical duties and tasks which have been placed before Your Eminence...." ("Zbornik dokumenata i podataka o narodnooslobodilackom ratu naroda Jugoslavije" [Collection of Documents and Data on the National Liberation War of the Nationalites of Yugoslavia], Vol XIV, Book 4, pp 984-985, 989)
9. Incidentally, even the Chetnik leaders did not view their movement as antifascist nor against the occupiers, nor did they so term it!
10. V. Djuretic, op. cit., Vol I, p 146.
11. Ibid., Vol II, p 249.
12. "Povijest Saveza komunista Jugoslavije," p 288.
13. "V. Djuretic, op. cit., Vol II, p 189.
14. Ibid., Vol I, p 164.
15. Ibid., Vol II, pp 249-250.
16. Its spiritual captives in Montenegro and Hercegovina attempted to use Stalin's kolkhoz programs to drive the peasants all into the same pot.
17. V. Djuretic, op. cit., Vol II, p 250.

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